

We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
 They master us and force us into the arena.
 Where like gladiators we must fight for them.—Helm.

25 CENTS

The ARENA

APRIL, 1897

EDITED BY
 JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL.D.

THE PROBLEM OF MUNICIPAL REFORM . . .	Hon. H. S. Pingree . . .	707
	Governor of Michigan and Mayor of Detroit, Michigan	
THE DOORWAY OF REFORMS	Eltweed Pomeroy . . .	711
ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS IN BOSTON	Frederick A. Bushee . . .	722
THE PRIESTHOOD OF ART	Stinson Jarvis	735
THE CATHOLIC QUESTION IN CANADA: . . .		
I. A STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM	F. Clement Brown, M. A. . .	742
II. THE INDEX EXPURGATORIUS IN QUEBEC	Geo. Stewart, D. C. L. . .	747
LINCOLN AND THE MATSON NEGROES	Jesse W. Weik	752
ABRAHAM LINCOLN: A Poem	Franc Remington	759
THE NIÑA ARCADIA	Gertrude G. de Aguirre . .	761
COEDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES	May Wright Sewall . . .	767
	Ex-President of National Council of Women, etc.	
THE SCRIPTURE-ERRANCY CONFLICT	Benjamin F. Burnham . .	776
THE PAST AND THE FUTURE OF THE AMER- ICAN NEGRO	D. W. Culp, A. M., M. D. .	788
CLAIMS OF SPIRITUALISM UPON CHRISTI- ANITY	Rev. T. E. Allen	800
DEVELOPMENT OF NATURALIZATION LAWS	Clifford S. Walton	810
	Of the Washington Bar	
THE MAN IN HISTORY	John Clark Ridpath . . .	816
THE URGENT NEED OF OUR PACIFIC COAST STATES	Edward Berwick	831
THE EDITOR'S EVENING		835
BOOK { Once More "The Alhambra"; A New Book on Darwin; Mr.		
REVIEWS { Bryan's Book		842

BOSTON: ARENA COMPANY { PIERCE BUILDING
COPLEY SQUARE

AGENTS: PARIS { Brentano's, 17 Rue de l'Opera
Librairie Gallani, 224 Rue de Rivoli

Copyright, 1897. All rights reserved

Single Numbers, 25 cts.

[Vol. XVII, No. 89.]

Per Annum, \$3.00



A
PENNY
Postcard
will
Summon
SAPOLIO
to your
Aid
when
HOUSE
CLEANING

Whether you write,
or send, or ask for
it, insist on getting

SAPOLIO

THE DEALER WHO CHANGES YOUR ORDERS, INSULTS YOU.

MRS. T. LYNCH,
DIAMOND IMPORTER AND
MANUFACTURER.

We import Diamonds in the rough and save
25 per cent duty. Write for illustrated cata-
logue, mailed free, filled with bargains...
GOODS SENT FOR INSPECTION. SATISFAC-
TION GUARANTEED OR MONEY REFUNDED.

1 & 3 UNION SQ.,
cor. 14th St., N. Y.,
DEPT. A.
(ESTABLISHED 1844.)



- No. 1. Genuine Diamonds
and Ruby, Turquoise,
or Opal Centre. \$5.
No. 2. Five Opals. \$5.
No. 3. Pure White Dia-
monds, and any Stone
Centre. \$5.
No. 4. Five Rubies, Sap-
phire, Emerald or Tur-
quoise Centre, and 9
monds. \$10.



No. 5. Cluster of Fine White Diamonds. \$15.



No. 6. Diamond Links, \$2.50. Same in Cut
Buttons.



No. 7. All Diamonds. \$15. Diamonds, Ruby
Centre, \$12. Diamonds, Turquoise
Centre, \$10.



No. 8. Sterling Silver, \$5.
14-karat Gold, \$10.
Enamelled any Color, \$7.50.

We warrant these Watches
Correct Timekeepers, and re-
pair them free of charge five
years.



May Knight Sewall

THE ARENA.

VOL. XVII.

APRIL, 1897.

No. 89.

THE PROBLEM OF MUNICIPAL REFORM. CONTRACT BY REFERENDUM.

BY HON. H. S. PINGREE,

Governor of Michigan and Mayor of Detroit, Michigan.

THE number of persons who write essays on municipal government, preach on municipal government, and deliver orations on municipal government is out of all proportion to the number doing work for municipal government. This condition of things is not the smallest "problem" of municipal government. It would seem at times as though everybody wielding a pen or wagging a tongue were wild to point out just what "work" ought to be done, while nobody pitches in to do the work. But when anybody happens to grab a grub-hoe and strikes out into the municipal field, all the essayists and the preachers and the orators find something wrong about the way the grub-hoe is wielded, the size of the grubber's boots, and the streaks of dirt flying about. There is no elegant way of doing such work. The elegant way is to urge somebody else to do it, and when nobody responds, fall to making speeches of complaint in some elegant clubhouse.

Municipal governing is doing certain lines of work for a city for the least sum of expense. That is all there is in it. But that is much.

A perfect municipal government is a body of men working together for the interests of the city.

A less perfect municipal government is a body of men working for the interests of the city, whose notions of such interests are involved with class, and the building up of certain special interests, which they regard as the building up of the city.

A bad municipal government is a body of men hired by special interests before or after election to steal contracts from a city. Most cities are governed by such interests, and most of the stockholders make speeches and fill columns of the newspapers. Some of these

steal a contract Tuesday night, and deliver an oration on municipal reform at the regular banquet Wednesday night, in full dress, before the applauding Society for the Prevention of Chilblains.

Contracts are the centre and almost the entire circumference of municipal government; and in these days of well-defined theory there are but few who do not know what ought to be done in a city.

Laws are not good if they are not enforced; and they are not enforced half the time. Bribery is common in municipal affairs, and but few bribe-takers and bribe-givers are struck by the law. Almost all the bribes of serious influence in municipalities are given for contracts.

Applicants sometimes pay for municipal-board employment, under cover of collections for some political fund; and certain appointments made by the common council direct, provide blackmail in a small way; but contracts, good fat contracts, provide the bulk of the bribe money. Contracts, therefore, furnish the chief "problem" in municipal government.

I am at a loss to say what system would provide against bad contracts. Systems soon bend to the money-makers. One system appears to be just as good as another if not retained too long.

It seems to be a fad to look for some great system that will provide all of the checks and last for all time. In this is one of the difficulties of law-making; as instead of a reasonable time-limit for most laws, they are there on the statute books like the gods of the heathens set up for eternity. And they are quite as numerous as the heathen deities. Systems ought to be as easy of change as clothing, in cities at least; but the fact remains they are not, although safety lies in change. Private interests become involved with systems to such degree that to change the one is to tear down the other, and strong private interests always refuse to be removed. Private interests are so closely interlaced with any system, that any change in method cannot leave them out of consideration, and it is at this point where the mere theorist and the practical man radically disagree.

The practical man wants to make a change, but he knows what is in the way of change, and he knows that the specific change is not all that is required. The practical man may want the particular change, but he may see far enough ahead to know that the time must come when the new method in all of its theoretic beauties must be exchanged for the old. If the practical man could move the public to switch with reasonable rapidity, the job were an easy one. This, however, is too much to expect, until, perhaps, the Swiss referendum is applied to municipalities, which, of course, means the wiping out of party lines in cities.

Municipal ownership will provide the minimum of contracts of importance, and there is no reason why a city should not do all public work, like paving and sewer-construction, etc., by the day.

The ponderosity of advocacy of municipal ownership shows with what a reverential air the question of a change of system is approached, as also the slow ways of a people unused to seize opportunities by reason of the trammel of the fetich of supposed authority, behind which special interests lurk. The referendum would change all this as quickly as a ballot can be taken. The ballot is the ultimate system. All other systems are bolstered by private interests. All contracts of importance should be referred to the ballot for confirmation.

So far as my experience goes, the standard of morality of a people is the best standard. But if the people desire to amuse themselves by cheating themselves, it is at their own cost expressed in taxes.

The invincible ignorance of the men who are averse to change because of the dread of foolish opinion; the opposition to change of financially interested parties who may happen to own a newspaper; the idiocy of a swarm of cheap people who accept five dollars to assist a corporation which has robbed them of ten dollars,—all these, and more, are the barriers against change which is the life of a municipality.

Class interest is one of the greatest foes of the welfare of the municipality. These interests have taken the place of the old robber-baron system which existed in bygone times. They have substituted bribery and falsehood for the sword and the raid; instead of being mail-clad they are newspaper-clad. But, unlike the old robber-barons and their sword-flourishing retainers, who met the blows of their opponents in the open field, the moderns lie in the daytime and stab in the dark. The modern class interest, however, is as self-destructive as was the old robber-baron method.

Labor unionism in cities is classifying itself rapidly. Originally instituted to snatch the independence of the individual from the hands of the organized capitalists, and to interpose a shield between all labor and the greed and cowardice of the investor, it is becoming an unconscious aid in the hands of the designing, both inside as well as outside of the union.

Let me illustrate this and at the same time take this communication off the lofty perch of generalization and bring it down to everyday struggles. At the present time in the city of Detroit three street-car companies are attempting a combination, ostensibly in the interests of economic operation, but really for the purpose of selling watered stock. The companies as yet have discharged but few men, and these principally from the two power-houses which they have shut down, as they can operate the combined lines with one source of electrical power.

I have of course no objection to such economic operation, providing the people share in the economic profit. But the street-car companies are not looking to such sharing by any means. They contend not only that the fare be left as it is, but that they are entitled to a slight advance. I know that they can make money at a lower fare than the average fare prevailing, and run in competition with each other at the same time. I also know that the success of the combination means the reduction of the number of cars in the service, and the discharge of at least one-fourth of the present number of employés. Now, in the face of this what is the position of the motormen and the conductors — men who belong to the street-car men's association or union? I learn with much astonishment that they sympathize with the proposed combine, and use the combine's argument that if the fares cannot be raised the current wages cannot be paid.

It is axiomatic in any kind of business that prices must be lowered when business is slack, when the power of purchase is lessened.

It is axiomatic, when a railroad is only making expenses or less than expenses, that to have receipts run above expenses the fares must be lowered, not raised. Thus, to the view of my experience and to that of all men of common sense, this local union is working against itself, since, with a fourth of their number discharged, demand for work will be increased, and, as such increased demand means decrease of wages, the existence of the union will be threatened and eventually destroyed. In this way and in other ways such combinations threaten the business interest of the entire city, of all cities, and indeed of the entire country.

THE DOORWAY OF REFORMS.

BY ELTWEED POMEROY.

PROBABLY the American people devote more time and energy to politics and to government than do any other people in the world. There are more political clubs, discussions, meetings, agitations than in any other great country. We do this because of race, training, climate, and governmental conditions. Perhaps no other race is studying so eagerly the science of government. Perhaps no other race has grasped so fully the idea that there is a science of government and that its correct application is of vital importance to the governed.

We are alert to seize new ideas and methods, and quick and practical in applying them. We have taken our civil-service reform from England, our secret ballot from Australia: we are eclectic, and therein is great strength. The masses of our people are reaching up to a better apprehension of correct principles of government and desire more to understand them than happens elsewhere, though, as everywhere, the masses have been usually dumb, and the voicing and framing of latent governmental aspirations and ideas have been left to the upper classes, who are trained to put their thoughts into words. But this is passing, and the line of dumb aspiration, of voiceless ideas and unexpressed interests, has in America been drawn to a lower plane in the social strata than in civilized countries in general. The working classes among us are learning how to express themselves, and they demand that their interests and aspirations be solidified into law.

OUR MANIFEST DESTINY.

This is a part of our manifest destiny. A century and a half ago we led the world in the statement and advocacy of democratic principles. The world has followed our lead, till to-day the coronation words of the Czar of all the Russias ring empty, obsolete, mediæval, an interesting survival, not a statement of a living truth. A century ago these words were alive, they meant something, they expressed a truth vital to the hearts of civilized men—the necessity of order at any price, even at the sacrifice of liberty; to-day, save in backward races and unpurged corners, they are dead. We have order, and shall have it, and can have liberty with it. The civilized world has accepted the democratic principles which we were the first on a large scale to state,

advocate, and attempt to apply. It has accepted them in its heart of hearts, although it often hangs on to the mere shell of its old ideas.

The American people have never knowingly approved dishonest principles or elected dishonest officials. We have often been deceived. We have often had to choose between evils. We have never knowingly chosen the worst. We have never knowingly inaugurated or even continued a dishonest or unwise policy. The American people are sound at the core.

UNEXPECTED AND POOR RESULTS.

Yet these principles, so gloriously argued, so eloquently stated, so generally accepted, so pregnant with promise, have failed to fulfil all their promises. Toilfully and painfully we have been learning that a statement of principles is not enough; that the practical and correct application of correct principles alone will produce beneficent results; that the application of these principles cannot be delegated to other parties than those directly interested, without a dishonest and corrupt application.

At first a crude application did produce beneficent results, and the American people turned their attention to conquering the continent, and later to the fight over slavery; now we are waking to the fact that, if democracy has been applied in this country, it is a failure. We are unable to accomplish results. Under present methods the will of the people is not enacted into law. Our municipal governments are crude and corrupt. The title of alderman is a title of dishonor. Jobbery pervades our city halls. Incapacity characterizes our municipal law-makers. In cleanliness, health, and beauty in our cities, the actual results of good government, we are behind the cities of semi-civilized Turkey and Russia.

Our state legislatures attract attention more by what they fail to do than by what they do, by their squabbles for offices and spoils, and by their incompetence. Two members of the highest legislature in the land thus give their opinions of Congress. Senator Vilas of Wisconsin recently said:

Partisanship and imbecility have again stricken Congress with paralysis. The Bond Bill, as it came from the House, was a mere sham and fraud, and deserved to be consigned to the hecatombs of folly's progeny, where the financial deeds of Congress for many years seem to belong. I turn from it to the graft which the Finance Committee has sprouted on it. It was a bad stock budded on a worse scion. The best hope was that both would shrivel in the desert air of the Senate.

Senator Smith of New Jersey said:

About the best thing that could happen would be for the Senate and House to adjourn, because no business is being accomplished, and there apparently is no hope of any being accomplished. It is a fact that the great majority of people are disgusted with Congress, and the Senate in particular.

But why repeat a thing you all know? If this is democracy, we want no more of it. Away with the lethal, degenerating thing!

AMONG THE PEOPLE.

What are the results among the people? The first result is that those who still cling with a blind but splendid loyalty to the noble principles of democracy, and who see that nothing can be accomplished with our present open and public methods, turn to hidden methods, to the formation of secret societies whose alleged aim is the reformation of abuses. Such are often noble in principle and inception, but they are perverted democracy. Their methods because secret are almost sure, in time, to become underhand and despicable. They fail to grasp the great underlying principle that true democracy is open and public in all its methods. Democracy aims to convince, not to coerce; to lead, not to drive; to unify a people, to harmonize and remove all discords, and not to create class or religious or economic divisions.

DISGUST WITH GOVERNMENT.

The second result of this perversion of democracy is disgust with government and all its affairs. The clean, honest citizen is afraid to touch it lest he too be defiled. I know of men, honest, honorable, capable, who have refused to vote for a quarter of a century. They say it is of no use. In some cities less than thirty per cent of the voters cast a ballot, and in twenty-four of the largest cities barely half of the voters vote. The stay-at-home vote increased in Pennsylvania from 70,000 in 1888 to 610,000 in 1895, in New York from 75,000 to 510,000, in Massachusetts from 80,000 to 230,000, in Ohio from 40,000 to 180,000. In Georgia, at a recent election, only nine per cent of the voters voted. These are startling figures.

This numbing disbelief in popular government because of our method of application is the creeping paralysis of the republic. It threatens to overthrow the principles of republican government, while still retaining its forms and names, by a subtle substitution of an oligarchy of office-holders and even of imperialism itself. Our best citizens do not attend to the science of government, the highest of all sciences, and so our worst attend to it. Our best citizens can accomplish little or nothing under present methods, and so they fold their hands and do not try.

The result is the centralization of power in a few hands. The mayors in our cities have to-day more power than they ever had. This is one-man power. The legislatures are assuming more power over large cities than ever before. John Fiske has said:

Obviously the preservation of local self-government is essential to the very idea

of a federal union. Without the town meeting or its equivalent in some form or other, the federal union would become, *ipso facto*, converted into a centralized imperial government. Should anything of this sort ever happen, then the time will have come when men may safely predict the break-up of the American political system by reason of its overgrown dimensions and the diversity of interests in its parts.

We have seen the Executive of the nation exert all the tremendous power of his great office to force the legislative body to repeal a law he wanted repealed, and he succeeded. Yet he is the man to execute and not to make the laws; at least, so the Constitution states. His acts have enlarged the prerogatives of the President and made him more of a dictator. His former Secretary of State, who recently occupied the highest foreign ambassadorship, has said that the American people need a strong hand to govern them, and that Cleveland is the man to do it. So low hath sunk a member of the party which once owned Jefferson and Jackson as its leaders! We see this centralizing tendency in the increased clamor for a larger army, a larger navy, a better-drilled militia, and in the building of armories and drill halls which are like bastiles and forts in their architecture. This rapid but subtle, silent, and often unnoticed advance toward imperialism is permitted by the disgust with the results of so-called democratic government.

WHITHER?

Whither are we drifting? If the centralization goes on, there is but one end—despotism and government by corruption, a government more subtly tyrannical, more hard to uproot, more vile and despicable in action, more foul in results on man, than the world has ever seen.

THE END OF THE CENTURY.

It may be the result of a superstition, it may be merely a coincidence, it may be that the ending of the old and the beginning of a new century give such an impetus to the imagination of the peoples of this world that an apparently new, vivifying force stirs the lifeblood of the nations; but it is a fact that the ending of the old and the beginning of a new century ever herald some great reform and change. It has been so in the past. Will the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century usher in the fuller and more complete application of the principles of democracy which roused the world a century ago in the American Revolution, and later, in the French Revolution, sent the doctrine of the divine right of kings to the limbo of the past? Shall we cease prating of our admiration for democratic principles and get down to their practical application? As we led the world a century ago in the statement of these principles, shall we again assume our hegemony in their practical application at the opening of this coming century?

THE PARTING OF WAYS.

We have come to the dividing of ways. On the one side is the imperialism of monopoly, corrupting, degrading, foul, but tinselled and begemmed; her head is in the stars and shining with false lights, but her feet of clay and iron mixed trample in the blood of the children: on the other side is full and complete democracy, perhaps not so fair at first to the outward sight, but beautiful with the beauty of use and trust and manhood developed and developing. On the one side is government; on the other is self-government. On the one side are the rulers of the people; on the other are its chosen servants. The one is a pyramid upside down; its apex, on which it sways uneasily, is the autocrat or small group of autocrats who really rule. You may call them a President and Cabinet, a committee from the railways or from the monopolies, or what you will; they may not even have the badges of power, but if they really rule, they are the apex on which the whole pyramid rests. Uneasy and uncertain is that rest. A final catastrophe is sure. No matter how deftly the pyramid may be balanced, some day it will topple over and drag its false civilization into ruin.

Can you expect reforms from this autocratic government? You may get economies in the methods of government, but you will not get real reforms which will benefit all the people. You may get the semblance, but you will not get the substance of reforms.

The other is a pyramid placed solidly on its base, the whole people. It is firm and will resist the storms of centuries. Like an oak with wide-spreading roots, it is of slow growth; but when once a reform is gained it is always held. It may be slow work educating the people in various reforms; but when once it is done you have got, not the semblance, but the substance of reform. Its outward manifestations may vary in different parts of the country, but when you have the people back of it the reality will be there every time.

Democracy is inevitable. Nothing can stop it. It is coming.

REPRESENTATIVE vs. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

Representative government is not democracy; it is a half-way house toward democracy. This country has passed beyond representative government. Other countries may still need it, we do not. Its fruits prove that. What are its fruits? Rottenness. A prominent member of a former legislature, whose honored name you would at once recognize, once told me that he was morally sure that two-thirds of the members of that legislature had taken bribes, and that he thought that a majority of the remaining third would have taken them if they had had the chance. It is openly said of the farmers in another legislature that with a salary of \$500 and one term in the legislature they pay off

the mortgage on their farms. A member of a Michigan legislature told me that he saw so much corruption that he would not be a candidate again, and his successor told him that he had made \$15,000 out of his first term. Lobbyists have testified that they could give their employers a fairly accurate estimate beforehand of what it would cost to buy a majority of a legislature. This is due to two facts inherent in the representative system, and not in a truly democratic method :

First. The interest of the representative often is and can easily be made directly opposed to the interest of the people for whom he makes laws. This would not and could not be true if the people voted on the laws directly. The people then would make laws in their own interests.

Second. The corruption is concentrated under the representative system so that it is effective. Suppose a thousand electors elect one representative. Five dollars each would not buy a majority of them to vote for a law which was contrary to their own interests, yet much less than \$5,000 might buy their representative to vote for the same law. If \$5 each were offered to a thousand voters, some one would be sure to divulge the fact and there would be a public scandal defeating the bribe-givers. It is a thousand times easier to keep quiet the giving of a bribe to one representative.

Third. Notice where the corruption comes from. Mayor Swift of Chicago said recently :

Is it your men in the common walks of life that demand bribes and who receive bribes at the hands of legislative bodies or of the common council? No, it is your representative citizens, your capitalists, your business men.

It is not the mass of the people who are corrupt and who are corrupting our representative system. It is the upper classes, the men of wealth and influence, the class from which our lawmakers are usually chosen.

Corruption is inherent and inevitable in our representative system. No modification of that system can more than partially improve it. It will always be there till you take the final power away from the representative and leave the enacting of the laws in the hands of the people themselves. Make the representative a councillor, a law drafter, a law suggester, but not a law enactor. That power should reside in the people whenever they wish to exercise it. Until this change is made you will be like the widow who importuned the unjust judge till she got something of what was due to her ; by persistence you may get some minor reforms, but not any great permanent reform.

THE DOORWAY OF REFORMS.

The doorway to complete and thorough reforms is the practical

and complete application of democracy. That is the entrance not only to national, but also to state and municipal reforms. The machinery necessary is very simple. It is only putting in practice the principle of self-government. No community, no matter how small, no matter how large, should be governed by any law which they cannot vote on directly without the intervention of any representative body, if that community wishes thus to vote. This is self-government. This is Direct Legislation through the Initiative and the Referendum. By the Referendum no law—and this means a city ordinance as well as a state or national law—goes into effect under a reasonable time, varying of course with the size of the territory governed and the number of the voters in it. If during that time a reasonable minority of people—this percentage also should vary with the number of voters in the legislative district and should sink to one per cent or two per cent in the case of the nation and rise to ten per cent or fifteen per cent in the case of small localities—sign a petition to have a law referred to the people, it is held from operation till all the people vote on it. If a majority favor, it becomes a law; if a majority oppose, it does not become a law.

By the Initiative, a reasonable minority of the people can propose a law, which after discussion in the legislative body and among the people is voted on by the people, a majority accepting or rejecting. The two together, Initiative and Referendum, constitute Direct Legislation, or the direct proposing and voting of laws by the people who are to be governed by them. By this method the final power is not delegated to a lawmaking body. The people may accept suggestions from their legislature, they may tacitly approve of the work of their legislature by not calling for the Referendum on whatever is passed. But they can do it at any time. There is the gist of the whole matter—the ability at any time to do as they want. Having the power, they will rarely need to use it. At present they cannot do it, no matter how much they may wish it. This is the very simple and effective machinery of democracy, the never giving up the final power to make and enact any laws for their own government. This is self-government as opposed to government. It can be applied to the government of a nation, or to the affairs of a village, or to the scattered membership of an association for some object; and to-day it is applied to all these purposes, not only in foreign countries, but also, in a limited manner, in this country, and applied with marked success. A study of the literature of the subject will substantiate this statement.

NOT NEW OR UNTRIED.

Direct Legislation is not a new or an untried thing, but has its

roots in the early forms of our government, in the principles on which it was founded, in the practice of our constitution-making, in the methods of the New England town meeting, in the very atmosphere which surrounds all our institutions. Study Switzerland, study the town meeting, study our trade unions and various other societies, even some of our church organizations, and in the light of experience you will say that we should not seek relief from the evils of our present system of applying democracy by going back to autocracy or imperialism, but by going forward from a now false and corrupt application of democracy to a fuller and more complete application of it. In that direction lies safety.

RESULTS.

Lack of space prevents more than an outlining of the principal results of Direct Legislation :

First. It will be an outlet for our good citizenship, which, because it sees that it cannot accomplish anything without soiling its hands, folds them and does nothing. But unorganized good citizenship at present cannot accomplish anything. Our system does not permit it. Under Direct Legislation any citizen could start a petition for a law, and if he could interest a reasonable minority, he could bring it before the people for discussion and adoption or rejection. If a majority of the people thought it a good thing, it would be passed. And so our good citizenship could accomplish something; they could be real leaders. At present they can only write to the papers, or "raise a row" in some indignation meeting, or lobby, if they wish to try that; or they can get into a party caucus and be outmanœuvred and outvoted. Direct Legislation would bring out and develop the leadership of brains and patriotism so sadly lacking in our present public life. Look at the grade of our public men at present. There are no Websters, or Clays, or Calhouns, or Sumners, or Swards among them. Why? Because our system needs scheming politicians to run it; the man of brains and of patriotism has but little chance to really lead the people. So our public life is filled with second-rate men. Direct Legislation will bring back to public life the leadership of brains and of conscience, the true leaders of thought. All honest reformers are looking for this; hence they ought to advocate the system which makes it possible. Without such leadership, thorough reforms are impossible. Direct Legislation is therefore the doorway of reforms.

OUTLET FOR BAD CITIZENSHIP.

Secondly. Direct Legislation will be an outlet for our bad citizenship. It will allow it to formulate its demands, and that formulation will often relieve them of half of their danger; it will permit the free

discussion of these demands and their decision, and thus they will be rendered completely harmless. Stifle them and you sit on the safety valve, and explosion follows; let the steam blow off and it will be harmless. Perhaps among these demands there may be some wheat which is well worth the winnowing: in this public unrest perhaps there are some real grievances which the mere making public will remedy. Thus Direct Legislation will save what is good and remedy what is evil in our bad citizenship. Half of the needed reforms consist of the redress of grievances. Thus again is Direct Legislation the doorway of reforms.

AN EDUCATION.

Thirdly. It is a great educational scheme. At present our political campaigns are very valuable educationally. They are likely worth all they cost. But they are the old undershot water wheel which used only about five per cent of the available power, while Direct Legislation is the improved turbine which utilizes nine-tenths of the power. How much of our present political discussion is concerned with the characters of the candidates, with mud-slinging and abuse! how much with vain-glorious praise of our own party and detraction of the other party! How much of the party platforms really means anything? How ambiguous they are!—how capable of being interpreted in one way in one section, and in directly the opposite in another section! How little of the discussion is really educational! Under Direct Legislation we should have a discussion of measures, not of men, of principles, not of personalities, of laws and methods, not of records. Where under the present system there is one part which is really educational, under Direct Legislation there would be ten parts. Hence it is a great educational scheme. Again in this light is it the doorway of reforms.

THE WORDING OF THE LAW.

Fourthly. Unless it suits the wishes of the party bosses a reform cannot even be heard in legislative halls; under Direct Legislation you would only have to convince a reasonable minority that it was wise, to bring before the whole people the reform measure. You would not have to wait the pleasure of party bosses and so modify your plans that they would consent to give it a hearing. At present when the people do rise in their might and insist on the passage of some good measure, the politicians usually do their best to defeat it by inefficient enforcement or by some little clause in the law which will make it inoperative. This has happened again and again with civil-service reform and the secret ballot. The politicians endeavor to defeat reforms by indirection. When prohibition was passed in Kansas, ex-Senator Ingalls said that all was lovely, the prohibitionists had their law, the liquor men still had

their saloons, and both were satisfied. This would be prevented under Direct Legislation, for those who favored a measure would have the drafting of the law to carry it into effect; or, if not, they could propose amendments to make it effectual. While politicians control the wording of the law, that wording will be in their interest and in the interest of the men who pay them; and they do not receive the major part of their revenue from the public. Render harmless their power over the phraseology of the law by permitting the people to word their own laws if they wish to, and at once a great stumbling-block is lifted from the pathway of all reforms. Again is Direct Legislation seen to be the doorway of reforms.

FEW AND UNDERSTANDABLE LAWS.

Fifthly. Laws should be simple and short so that "he who runs may read," so that "the wayfaring man, though a fool, shall not err therein." At present they are many and complex. In the "off" years, when only seven or eight legislatures sit, there is an output of but a few thousand laws; but in the "on" years, when the full legislative machine is grinding, there are turned out between ten and fifteen thousand laws — Ossa piled on Pelion — good, bad, and useless laws, with a big majority of the last two kinds. In this vast mass of laws there are pitfalls for the unwary, ambushes behind which crouch shyster lawyers (the beasts of prey of this more than tropic jungle), great fungoid growths on what might have been good timber, slime, loathsomeness, and deadly malaria. Woe to the reformer who tries to hew his way through this dense, tangled, unwholesome jungle! The stubborn growth springs up behind him almost as quickly as he can cut it down in front, and when he begins to see light ahead he is tripped up by some previous legal enactment that makes his attempts nugatory.

The example of Switzerland is refreshing; there many of the cantons or states pass on an average but three or four laws a year, and these are short and simple. When the people vote on laws, they kill them unless they understand them. Hence those of our constitutions in whose enactment the Referendum has been used are short and simple. All truly great reforms are simple. It is becoming increasingly difficult to enact any such, because they are stifled by other laws. Thus again we see that Direct Legislation prepares the way for all other reforms.

UNENFORCED LAWS.

Sixthly. Our system would be absolutely unendurable if all our laws were properly enforced. An unenforced law is a despised thing, hence the fitting reverence for law is fading out of the popular mind. A reform that is enacted into an unenforced law is worse than useless.

Make the laws shorter, simpler, and fewer, and they will be the more easily enforced. A reform then enacted into law will be worth something; but what is it worth when a New York legislator can openly say that he is in favor of the law but against its enforcement? Here again Direct Legislation is the *avant-courier* of reforms.

Did space permit I might cite many other arguments.

PERMANENT REFORMS.

Lastly. No reform is permanent which does not have the people back of it. If you put the Ten Commandments from Sinai, supplemented by the Sermon on the Mount, into a nation's laws, they would be useless unless the people believed in them; if the people believe in them, they will be effective. Under Direct Legislation, the people are back of every law that is made. The nation progresses as fast as the people are ready for progress, and no faster. Such growth is normal and healthy. By Direct Legislation any reform that the people are ready for can be obtained, and no reform can be obtained till the people are ready for it. Thus again is Direct Legislation the doorway of reforms.

Soon we shall pass out of the old into the new century. Soon, let us hope, shall we pass through this great primal reform, Direct Legislation, or self-government, into other reforms. The signs of the times all point that way.

Forward, forward let us range,

Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change.

Dante put over the entrance to his hell:

Leave hope behind, all ye who enter here.

I would reverse this and say: "Take all hope when ye enter here," till, in the words of another poet,

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapped in universal law.

ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS IN BOSTON.

BY FREDERICK A. BUSHÉE.

THROUGHOUT the entire city of Boston one can hardly find a more interesting or picturesque spot than the old North End. It is interesting from an historical standpoint, while the strange and heterogeneous character of its inhabitants makes up its picturesqueness.

North Street, formerly known as Ann, Fifth, and Ship Streets, was among the first to be settled in Boston and was one of the few important streets in the town. It was on North Square that the old North Church was located in which the Mathers (Increase, Cotton, and Samuel) successively ministered; and at the foot of North Square there still stands an old-fashioned wooden structure which was for thirty years the home of Paul Revere. Instead, however, of the sturdy patriots of English descent who once resided here, immigrants from Italy throng the streets. An Italian Catholic church now stands where Cotton Mather once discoursed, and Paul Revere's house has undergone an equally startling change. The first entrance reveals an Italian provision store; while the following sign, which is self-explanatory, appears over the second entrance:

383 J. BLADOWCKE 383

MEERCHANT TAILOR

CLOTHING REPAIRED

CLEANED DYED AND PRESSED

All work prompt and done satisfactory

This house and Christ Church on Salem Street are now about the only relics in the vicinity of old colonial days.

As North Street was one of the oldest streets in Boston, it did not long remain a fashionable one. It lost its American features as soon as immigration commenced in the first half of this century. The Irish and Italians have successively held this region on the east, while the Jews have occupied a large portion of the district immediately west of the dividing line of Hanover Street. Portuguese, Russians, Swedes, and a few representatives of other nationalities are also found in the neighborhood.

The North End has seemed to be the natural rendezvous for every

new accession of immigrants until they earn their promotion to some more fashionable part of the city or are crowded out by the persistent pressure of newcomers. For many years after their famine the Irish held undisputed sway of the region ; and they seemed to be especially opposed to the advent of foreigners into their territory. Their contest with the Italians was sharp, but they were finally obliged to yield, as the Americans had done before them ; and now, with the exception of a few who have taken refuge in houses of their own, they have been driven to the outskirts or have taken up their abode in other parts of the city. Of all the nationalities in this part of the city the Italians are much the most numerous, and are becoming relatively more and more so. The most prosperous are purchasing houses in the neighborhood, and others of them are permeating the territory of the Jews so rapidly that the Italians will soon become possessors of the entire district if their numbers continue to increase.

At present they number about eighteen thousand, although the residence of many is so transient that it is difficult to count them accurately. The single men move from city to city with little inconvenience, and they visit their own country frequently. The last six years have witnessed a growth by immigration in the Italian population which is certainly remarkable, and which would seem to many alarming, for in 1890 they numbered less than five thousand. Comparatively few of the Italians are old residents. None are recorded as living in Boston before the census of 1855, and their growth was very gradual until 1880, when they numbered one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven. From that time until the present their numbers have doubled every five years, with the exception of the last five years, when they nearly quadrupled their numbers. In 1880 they formed one per cent of the foreign population in Boston. In 1890 they had grown to three per cent. And at the present time they form approximately eleven per cent of the foreign born. Such a movement in immigration as this has not been witnessed in Boston since the Irish famine of 1846, when nearly fifty thousand Irish settled in Boston in a single decade. The Italians and the Slavonic races now, however, form the bulk of that immigration which is on the increase in our Eastern cities.

If the North End is more picturesque than formerly, it has become so at a sacrifice to its industry. Groups of idlers may always be seen on pleasant days about North Square, the centre of Italian activity. The men are of an olive complexion, short of stature, with prominent cheek-bones and round heads. They uniformly wear low felt hats and ill-fitting clothes, and not infrequently adorn themselves with earrings. The women, with their gayly-colored headdress and huge ear-drops, are even more noticeable than the men, and, when walking through the

streets with large baskets or bundles on their heads, they remind us strongly of the European peasantry.

There are three general types represented among the Italians. The Genoese, or northern type, number six or seven thousand. They have a slight mixture of Teutonic blood, and most nearly resemble our own type. The southern Italians, represented principally by the Neapolitans and Calabrians, make up nearly one-half of the colony. The Sicilians, a darker-complexioned type, number about three thousand, but are not confined so closely to this section of the city.

The Genoese are rather the best educated class, and are perhaps the most quickly assimilated of any. But they are quite apt to be suspicious of strangers, and they are very bigoted. One can hardly fail to notice that their learning was not acquired in an atmosphere of freedom. The southern Italians are an excitable people, but on the whole are good-natured and friendly. They are rather attractive than otherwise, if we except some of the Calabrians, whose fierce countenances do not invite friendliness. They are the ones who carry knives and so frequently use them. This method of procedure, so revolting to us, is simply their way of fighting, for they do not know how to use their fists. Their conduct is greatly deplored by the better class of Italians, as is illustrated by the remark of a Genoese woman: "The Calabrians are terrible; they just as soon stab you." Under the influence of a stronger public opinion and a more rigid enforcement of the law than was the custom in Italy, this evil is gradually being lessened. The dangerous character which has been given to the North End by these acts of violence has, however, been greatly exaggerated. Quarrels seldom occur except among the Italians themselves, and then only under provocation. The North End is actually as safe for a well-behaved person as any other part of the city.

A large proportion of Italians come from the country districts in the interior of Italy, and possess a goodly amount of vitality. They are inexperienced but well-meaning people, and they seem quite out of place in their crowded city quarters. These are quite a different sort from certain rogues, refugees from justice, who live on the labor of their less experienced countrymen.

In most cases, if the Italian can lay up money in this country, his purpose in coming has been entirely fulfilled. He does not come, as our Puritan ancestors did, "to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience"; he is not even seeking a home, as the Irish are, nor is he fleeing from persecution like his Jewish neighbors. Comparatively few come at first with the intention or desire of making this country their home; and those who permanently remain very often do not prefer this country to their own Italy. The truth is, the heavy

taxes in Italy have driven many away from that country. They may have a sufficient amount of property in goods, but money is scarce and the taxes are enormous. So husband or son determines to set out for the new land where money is plenty and can easily be secured — at least according to the report of a returned countryman or the assurances of the smooth-tongued ticket-broker. The little farm is often mortgaged to pay the passage, and sometimes is entirely lost, for work is not always to be found even in America. Not a few are helping to swell the slums of our cities, who came from country homes, and heartily wish they were back there now.

Many of the Italians, especially those from the cities, are fugitives from military service; others are merely fortune-seekers. A few hundred dollars in Italy is the difference between poverty and comfort. If one can secure that amount in America, and return with it to Italy, his fortune is made. It is worth trying. One dollar and fifty cents a day for wages seems a large sum to a man who has been working hard for twenty-five or thirty cents a day. He will live as cheaply as possible here that he may enjoy his riches in Italy. American wages and Italian expenditures is the rule by which he makes his savings. Sleeping three in a bed lessens the expense of rent, and Italian food is very cheap.¹ In this way many of the unmarried men sacrifice the present and are thereby enabled to make very good provision for the future. Raphael Angelo, who is about twenty-eight years of age, has lived in this country three years. During that time, with the intermittent work which he has been able to secure, he has succeeded in sending six hundred dollars to his parents in Italy. Others are doing even better than Raphael.

Not all, however, are successful, especially at first. Failures here are due to certain obstacles peculiar to the Italians as well as to the usual difficulties of an immigrant. The first obstacle he encounters is the "boss" or "*padrone*," who has already become an historic character. The *padrone* certainly appears as an angel of light, for he professes to bring work and consequently wages. He may profess simply to give employment for a remuneration, or he may be the overseer as well as contractor for a piece of work, in which case his power is greatly increased. It is not the office, but the imposition, of the *padrone* which is objectionable. If work is actually furnished by a boss, which is not always done, even after the remuneration is given, living accommodations are usually furnished with it; and so large a sum is asked for very poor accommodations that the laborer's originally fair wage is reduced to almost nothing, the boss having improved his opportunity for enriching himself by becoming a boarding-house keeper.

¹ One Italian affirms that his living expenses are only one dollar and twenty-five cents a week. Eight men sleep together in one room, for which they pay one dollar a week.

A gang of Italian workmen in the country are usually living in a piece of woodland or even open field, as far away from human habitation as possible, scarcely leading a civilized life. Their dwellings are merely temporary wooden huts or even clay dug-outs just large enough to serve as a shelter at night. The bunks are arranged in tiers, if the size of the hut will permit; and at night the Italians are stowed away in them much like the steerage passengers of a steamship. In such a life as this the Italian laborers will spend two or three months at a time. It is no wonder that under such influences they become lax in cleanliness and neatness.

The work of the Italian banker has been too often dwelt upon to be a new theme. Their frequent exposures have served to make them more wary, yet even now ten or fifteen per cent may be charged for remitting funds to Italy, and occasionally they are not sent at all. Not long ago a banker disappeared with forty thousand dollars, which represented the small savings of a large number of industrious Italians. After squandering the money he returned and succeeded in again gaining the confidence of the people, with the hope of returning to them the lost amount; but after collecting another large sum he disappeared a second time not to return. As much as one hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been stolen in this way from the poor Italians in a single year. This illustrates some of the impositions which are practised upon the inexperience and credulity of these poor people.

About fifty per cent of the male Italians are unskilled day laborers. These are made up principally of the Neapolitans, the later immigrants. Although many of them were artisans or farmers at home, they are of rather inferior ability according to our standard, and hence tend to continue in unskilled work. Before this recent influx of southern Italians, however, the common laborers did not predominate in the occupations. The first immigrants left this sort of work before very long and became pedlers or fruit-dealers instead.

Next to common day labor, the fruit business now takes by far the largest number of Italians. It is estimated that between two and three thousand Italians in Boston and vicinity are connected with this business. The fruit business is not nearly so remunerative as it was ten years ago, when there were only seven hundred dealers in Boston. The increase in dealers has necessitated a division in profits, and now if a pedler makes five dollars a week, he is considered to be doing a very good business. The pedler does not buy his fruit from the market directly, but buys it in small quantities from the wholesale dealer or middleman, who orders it in large quantities through the main office, and stores it temporarily in his house or cellar. It is consequently the wholesale dealer who is subject to the large losses as well as the profits,

Antonio Ferrari, who carries on a large wholesale business in a three-roomed tenement, has had sad experiences in this line. It was a bad year for oranges, and seven hundred dollars' worth of the fruit which he had stored in his cellar spoiled in one winter.

Among the miscellaneous employments, many of the Italians work in manufacturing establishments, such as shoe shops, etc. A large number are masons and stonecutters or polishers in marble shops. The bakeshops employ a great many Italians, and barbers are now becoming very numerous, especially amongst the Sicilians. In fact, Italians are apt to become barbers before they have mastered the trade, and hence a cut in rates is a very natural outcome. The occupation of the street musician, which has always been rather popular, is carried on by the southern Italians, particularly the Calabrians. These are reported to despise such manual labor as the Neapolitans perform, but they take very naturally to this roving life.

The work of the women is quite a large factor in Italian industry. The habits of the European peasantry are preserved here by those women who do farm gardening outside the city. The freedom of outdoor work is a relief from the cramped life of the city, and the work is merely that to which they are accustomed. Some even walk to and from their work. The proportion of women engaged in this work, however, is growing less. The young women are working in the candy shops or becoming saleswomen in stores, and many more are working with the Portuguese women in the manufacture of clothing.

Life on North Street begins very early in the day. Four or five o'clock in the morning is the time for rising. Some are apparently in the same situation as the youth of an inert disposition who got up early in the morning that he might have more time to loaf; but many have work, especially in the summer, and all would work if they could.

In Italy breakfast consists chiefly of milk, bread, and coffee. In this country some sort of meat is added to the list unless poverty prevents. Cereals also are eaten. Beef is much too dear in Italy to be common, and is not most frequently used here. Pork or chicken better suits one accustomed to a vegetable diet. After a light breakfast those who have employment are off to their work. Even then this section is not at all deserted; it is less populous, that is all. Those who are not fortunate enough to have employment are soon loitering about the streets or gathered into the various saloons for a social time. The four or five saloons in the vicinity, with such names as Scipione, Petruccio, Generio, etc., over the doors, are a real product of the colony. It is not until we come to the very outskirts of the district that the familiar names of Sullivan, O'Brien, and Keefe again appear.

In Italy a man can buy a large glass of wine for a cent, and then

order an indefinite amount of water, and sit in the saloon for the rest of the day. Here he pays five cents for a glass of beer, is not expected to order more than one glass of water, and is not really welcome for more than two or three hours, unless he continues to patronize the bar. This custom is not so convenient for the loafers, but it means that the saloon-keeper, like the laborer, is on a higher scale of profit than when at home. The saloons in this neighborhood differ from most saloons in that gaming rather than drinking is the chief attraction. Some of the idlers are interested in pool, but most of them gather around the card tables. They play for the drinks. It is only courteous to the proprietor that they should do so. Sometimes five or ten cents is staked, but this is not usually done except in lotteries. During the summer months the saloons do not fill up until evening, but in winter they are frequented throughout the day, not entirely on account of the cold, but because of the enforced idleness during that part of the year.

Apparently the only amusement for those who remain outside the saloon is eating. Aside from fruit in summer, crabs, razor-fish, and boiled sweet corn are sold; and in winter, hot baked potatoes. Razor-fish and crabs are eaten from the shell, apparently with great relish. The crab-man sells a large basketful each day, and takes in about one dollar and fifty cents, at the rate of three crabs for five cents. Women go into the sweet-corn business. Mrs. Costa has been endeavoring to support herself and five small children by selling boiled sweet corn at the rate of two ears for one cent. It is needless to say that Mrs. Costa was "at home" to charity visitors even before the season closed. Pears and bananas may often be bought toward evening at the rate of two dozen for five cents. This cheap food supply is a great convenience to some, and often furnishes all the meal that is eaten, for the Italian goes without his dinner if he has no money; he does not beg.

The dinner of the ordinary Italian is made up largely of macaroni, French or Italian bread, and usually some meat and potato. That form of flour preparation known as spaghetti is most frequently used. This is boiled whole and served as a first course. The Italian experiences no difficulty whatever in eating this slippery food, for he merely sucks it into his mouth from his fork in a very unconventional if not elegant manner. The better class of Italians drink wine at their meals, preferably of their own manufacture. Sometimes it is purchased from a neighboring saloon, but they consider this a very inferior quality compared with that made in their own country. Fruit or a few dried olives, which very much resemble a small prune, are sometimes eaten for dessert. Supper does not differ very much from dinner for the workmen. Some kind of vegetable food constitutes their principal diet.

In the Italian colony the afternoon is spent much like the fore-

noon. The women, who have been indoors at their work, are now sitting on the doorsteps gossiping with a neighbor; but they do not go far from home nor make themselves conspicuous. The man here is lord of the household, and wife and daughter are guarded with a jealousy which insures a greater domestic virtue among the women than is always exhibited by the men.

The baker's cart makes its daily rounds to-day, and, in addition to his regular stock, the baker has brought a barrel of Italian bread, stale but still good, which he offers for fifty cents, barrel and all. But he is unable to sell it. The Italian makes no uncertain provision for the future. He buys only when he has to, and then as cheaply as possible. Occasionally a Jew wanders over from the village across the way with an armful of clothing to sell. Although he offers a coat for forty cents, and a waistcoat for fifteen cents, he fares no better than the baker, and goes away disgusted because the "Dago" wants to buy his clothing for nothing. But this is the accusation which, though in a less degree, the Jew makes against the world in general, so we must make some allowance.

A little after six o'clock the men begin to return from their work, and the village soon assumes its normal size. In the evening the saloons again furnish entertainment for the majority; but their accommodations are limited, and overflow meetings are held in the public eating-houses or in private rooms. The more retired the spot, the more excessive becomes the gambling and the more frequently do quarrels occur, though the drinking may be less.

The one Italian theatre, consisting of a marionette show, is the only regular place of amusement, and this is too dull to be popular, even for an Italian who has little else to do. We enter the dance halls expecting to find Italians there; but these are principally Irish affairs. Few Italians are present, for by common consent the two races associate as little as possible. "Only the decent ones are allowed," according to the dancers. "If any Italians come in who do not behave, we just fire 'em out." The Italians frequently have dances of their own on festive occasions, which are more elaborate affairs. But they are not always harmonious, and readily give occasions for quarrels on account of some jealousy or fancied slight.

By nine o'clock most of the women have disappeared from the streets, and all the girls are within doors, for the street-walkers are not of the Italian race. If the morrow is a working day, the men retire from the street by ten o'clock, and only the saloons and dance halls remain active. At eleven o'clock the saloons are closed. The dance halls keep open until midnight.

Although a majority disappear early from the streets, the district

does not become quiet until long after ; and the noise commences again so early in the morning that there are but few hours of rest. It is not the usual din of a city which reaches one's ears, but rather the peculiar hum of voices and stir of living beings. There is a certain unsettled state, a feeling of restlessness which haunts us continually. Men without homes, and whole families, trying to adapt themselves to their strange surroundings cause the unrest.

Sunday is an interesting day in the Italian quarters. The streets become rather more lively than usual because the public places are closed. By nine o'clock the streets are crowded. Men are lounging about or are gathered into groups talking in an excited way. Some are gesticulating so fiercely that we think a fight is imminent, but this is only their forcible way of expressing themselves. Here as elsewhere the Sabbath is a day for "dressing up" ; but a change of raiment being impossible with many, a first-class shine has to suffice for a recognition of the claims of the day. There is reason in this. The boys must have foreseen their opportunity, for one is urged to get his boots blacked at every street corner, though he can scarcely buy a newspaper in the vicinity.

On Sunday the rising hour is a little later than usual, but the church-goers are up by six o'clock, in time for early mass. There are two Catholic churches in the community, besides a Protestant church and a Protestant mission. The Catholic churches are well filled at all the services of the day.

The congregation takes its part in these services with great reverence, yet apparently with some doubts as to what it is all about. The contribution box seems to be well understood, for all contribute something. At the close of the service they file out with the appearance of having performed a necessary task of the day. The service in the evening is the more attractive, because of its longer musical programme, for the Italians are passionately fond of music. For this reason they are attracted into Protestant missions, where nothing is understood by them except the common language of music, and that poorly expressed.

The reverence exhibited by the Italians in their worship is very noticeable ; and through that a part, at least, of the idea of the service is fulfilled. This feeling is unfortunately apt to be wasted upon symbols alone, the priest, the altar, the image becoming in a sense barriers rather than helps to the worship of God. To them the priest is so far the embodiment of Christ that religious conviction is apt to wane in his absence. Even in the Protestant church the hall must be partitioned off from the platform and pulpit for any other than a religious meeting in order that the place may not be desecrated.

On the whole the Italians do not have a religion which materially

affects their conduct, and many have no religion at all. Probably fifty per cent rarely enter any church. The reaction against the church in Italy has generated a distrust which has caused many to lapse into atheism.

The Catholic church claims nearly the whole people of the colony as Catholic, and so they are in name; but the fact that both their churches together do not hold over eight hundred persons would seem to show that only a small proportion of the people of the colony are very actively religious.

The Protestant church has a constituency of about three hundred, although not all of these are members. Many have been gained through the work of this organization, which is not distinctly religious. An employment bureau and an Italian exchange form important branches of the church's work. Patriotism and good citizenship are taught by one of their number, who has not yet fully mastered our language himself. They are taught our national hymn, even though they have to sing it in Italian. And every year, as they celebrate their national freedom, they are taught to associate it with our greater liberty through the exercises which are held about the statue of George Washington in the Public Garden.

By such agencies a few become acquainted with American ideas and customs, but these influences are comparatively slight; and if they were the only ones we might well despair of ever becoming a homogeneous nation. The work of assimilation must be done principally with the children, hence we look to the public schools for a leavening influence which can scarcely be exercised by other means. These are indeed the great civilizing and Americanizing agencies, no less philanthropic because not carried on by individual sacrifice.

Nearly all the Italian children go to the public schools, notwithstanding that there is a large parochial school in the neighborhood. The fact that the public schools are free more than makes up for any conscientious scruples which the Italians might have against sending their children there. Here the Italian and the Jew, the Irish and the Portuguese, with a sprinkling of all the other nationalities except Americans, are educated together. Some of the Russian Jews prove themselves to be the brightest, while others are excessively dull. The Italians learn quickly, and probably on the average are as bright as any. They soon learn enough English to become interpreters for the family, and later, as they use the new language more and more, the old gradually falls into disuse. The knowledge acquired beyond this is comparatively little, for the parent is impatient to put the child to work in order to swell the family earnings, and the child is scarcely less anxious to make the change. As their circumstances improve, however, edu-

cation seems destined to become more general. Even now a few Italian boys and girls may be found in the high schools.

About thirty-five per cent of the children at the North-End schools are Italian, a smaller proportion than we might expect from the Italian population; but in crossing from the Jewish to the Italian quarter one of the most noticeable things is the diminution in the number of children visible in the streets. The young men form the great majority of Italian immigrants, as the young women do of the Irish immigrants, the Italians being one of the few nationalities in which the men greatly exceed the women.

If we consider the Italians as a whole we find that their ignorance is astonishingly great. Although education is not always a test of good citizenship, illiteracy is in this case an obstacle to assimilation. First of all it is a hindrance to their acquisition of the English language; and then it cuts them off from such knowledge of our life and customs as might be gained by reading. Fifty per cent of the Italians in Massachusetts cannot even read and write their own language, which is the poorest showing for any nationality except the Portuguese, sixty-two per cent of whom are totally illiterate. In Boston in 1885, only fifteen per cent of the male Italians of voting age could read and write English; and the women are even more illiterate. Hardly any of the southern Italians are able to read and write the English language.

This accounts to some extent for a certain indifference to public affairs, and is a sufficient explanation of the fact that only twelve per cent of the male Italians are voters. But in any case they are not natural politicians. Unlike many of our foreign-born citizens, the Italians tend to become Republicans. It is doubtful if race prejudice does not have as much to do with forming their political opinions as individual intelligence. Their common explanation, "No like the Democrats," might be interpreted to mean, "No like the Irishman."

As regards morality, in certain lines much may be said in their favor, but in some respects they are exceedingly lax. The Genoese, who constituted the first immigrants, were, perhaps, with the exception of the Jews, as seldom seen in courts of justice as any nationality. Since 1890, however, their record has been somewhat worse. The southern Italians are especially licentious and passionate, which is the cause of many of their misdemeanors. The majority of the prisoners are sentenced for serious offences, — crimes against the person rather than against property.

Domestic virtue is of a high order with them; the standard, it is needless to say, is set by the women, not by the men. Although after marriage there is much improvement in the habits of the male sex, they

do not even then equal the female sex in constancy. If the wife is left in Italy, another marriage may be contracted in America, which is not molested unless the absent wife should suddenly join her husband here. It is always cheaper to get a new wife, if one can be found, than to transport the old one from Italy.

Drunkenness is not a common failing among the Italians, although the use of American liquors has increased this evil of late. Beer has now become their most common beverage. Total abstinence is scarcely known amongst them. A certain moral degradation is of course avoided by their comparatively temperate habits, yet one has only to become acquainted with this district and the neighboring Jewish quarter to realize that temperance is not the only thing needful to regenerate society or to eliminate poverty. Poverty and suffering are found here as in homes of drunken parents, yet existing, it is true, under less hopeless circumstances.

The average Italian is an honest man, particular in the payment of his debts, yet he is somewhat of a liar withal, a very natural state of things in a community like this, for honesty is a characteristic of country folks, while truthfulness is a virtue not quickly acquired. That incorrigible love of dirt which has so injured the Italian's reputation is not exhibited in the case of families as it is with single men, for the wife keeps the house wonderfully clean, and takes pleasure in doing so. The Italians are very ingenious, they mind their own business, and exhibit a most proper gratitude for real kindnesses.

The home, the centre of life, is not with the Italians all that it should be. It contrasts unfavorably with the homes of the Jews, which their religion so much emphasizes as the unit of the race. In fact, among no people does the family attain its full position unless held together by religious ties, in which the Italians are lacking. The social and benefit clubs, fifteen or twenty in number, serve to satisfy the social instincts of the better class. They also undoubtedly encroach upon the home, for these with the public places become the centres of social attraction. The Italians marry young, — at eighteen or twenty years of age, — but they are not nearly so prolific as the Jews or even the Irish. Some have very large families, it is true, but the majority have no more than four or five children.

As laborers, the Italians are, with reference to unskilled work, "scabs," yet they are quick to learn the prices of the country, and will not work for less than they think is their due. If a dollar a day is accepted at first, they very soon clamor for a dollar and twenty-five cents or a dollar and fifty cents, if that is the amount usually paid; but they have not yet come to apprehend some of the finer distinctions made by the trade unions. Apparent individual advantage and lack of

interest for future welfare cause them to work in many instances where others will not. The testimony of employers shows that the Italians are good workmen, steady and faithful if they are treated well; while the testimony of workmen shows that those Italians who settle down and become Americans are as diligent for the interests of the whole as the members of any nationality.

The Italians show a considerable tendency toward isolation, chiefly on account of their language, and this tendency increases an already difficult problem. Not till the second generation do they become really Americanized, but then they are quite transformed through their new environment. The schools, the street life, and especially the use of the English language bring them into closer touch with American life. Their dread of appearing strange before their playmates stimulates them to imitate American ways, and soon their home becomes the single link which binds them to Italy. Even their euphonious names become distasteful to them, and a Marondotti wishes he were a Smith or a Brown. The home life is but little changed in the new surroundings, for it seldom comes in contact with outside influences. Its influence is always Italian. Macaroni continues to be the Italian's food unto the second and third generations.

To sum up, we have in the Italians a large colony of immigrants held together by a combination of clannishness and ignorance, the latter of which separates them also from within on account of differences in dialects and habits; a people who are physically strong but intellectually untrained; perhaps no worse morally than ourselves, yet who offend and shock us because their vices are of a different nature from our own.

The Italians are not the most desirable nor are they the worst immigrants with which we have to deal. They represent, perhaps, an average of the difficulties which confront us in the problem of the assimilation of races.

It is only by a careful study of the people themselves and an observation of their actual life amongst us that we shall be enabled to judge of them correctly and estimate their contributions to American life.

SOUTH END HOUSE, BOSTON.

THE PRIESTHOOD OF ART.

BY STINSON JARVIS.

WHAT entitles an artist to the highest rank? Does not "greatness" include "value"? Must not the question often come to us in such ways as this: "Was Byron worth as much to the world as Tennyson?—was De Maupassant as valuable as George Eliot?" Can the highest rank be attained until the human heights be illustrated? What about the higher sympathies and recoils of the most refined? Can the best genius afford to ignore this region?

No one thinks the stage should interpret any branch of religious thought, but the needs of social life insist that it shall sometimes assist in sustaining or improving conditions which religions and fashions have succeeded in producing. The welfare of society does require that so-called ills of life be sometimes shown to have good results, and that talent should not be so incomplete as to teach nothing but despair.

The uplifted ideals, incentives, sense of humor, and refinements which are to a large extent common property among the best classes need not here be catalogued when saying that some celebrated artists ignore all of them. We find these widely advertised people carefully avoiding the attempt to carry the more primitive majorities beyond the range of their readiest susceptibilities. In plain language, their world-wide success is due to the liking of primitive majorities for low-grade plays. Spectators are wrought upon by the portrayal of the darkest and deadliest phases; they are fascinated by representations of passions which seize like an eagle or lure like a tigress, and kill when disappointed, so that many a man goes away saying: "Yes, very fine!—very realistic!—but very unlike the best people I know!" There is an unexplained want, an unrecognized subconsciousness that no higher part of himself has been called to the fore. In an undefined way he is disappointed. These are the grades of art which probably improve no one—except, perhaps, through the moral created by the absence of morals.

To mention a few peculiarities: neither Sardou nor Bernhardt nor the French stage as a whole seems to have discovered that grief may produce steadiness of character; and one will travel far through French plays before finding any remedy suggested for the so-called ills of life except death, either violent or natural. Bernhardt's acting does not

belong to the division of time known as Anno Domini. It belongs to prior ages. It is as untouched by the latter-day genius for advancement as was Nebuchadnezzar. And so far as she fails to portray the alterations effected by the more modern ideals, just so far does she lose in value as a delineator of mankind. She leaves out the best part.

Of course it is not suggested that people seek art or go to the theatres to be improved — not any more than they marry or read newspapers for that object. Yet they like and will support institutions which make improvement come in unlooked-for ways and with a pleasing seduction. Practically, a man is a picture-gallery. Those mental pictures and concepts remain with him which produce shock in him, whether pleasurable or otherwise. His advancement or degradation lies in his selection. And when the gallery may with equal ease be filled with either helpful or hurtful pictures, those institutions are favored which make improvement as easy and attractive as the opposite. This is nature's method of teaching. The world has never advanced by being ordered to do so, but through becoming possessed of concepts which made good seem desirable and even a delight. The best accomplishment in each branch of art is thus understood; also the grave responsibility of the artists themselves, when seen to be creators of improvement or degradation.

All admit that the Judiths, Jaels, Jezebels, and Borgias have their human history to teach when well staged; and we owe Bernhardt something for personifying the Cleopatra, the slim, lithe creature who could be generous when pleased in vanity or passion, and could kill when either of these was slighted — more sensitive than mercury, nervous as jagged lightning, changeable as a stock report, volcanic as Vesuvius, and irresponsible as a lizard — the really dangerous woman who refuses to disappear. Yet the study which extends only to the peculiarities of more primitive humanity has often been found hurtful as well as narrowing. Some can safely gain a salutary recoil and an often unpleasant wisdom by descending with Zola to the lower world; but those who study nothing but the dredgings of the human depths will certainly lack scope.

Regard our continuous changes. Even those decadents who insist that darkness is the only light are tiring of their magic-lantern grotesqueries. In that burial of the living called pessimism, men notice, when all but their heads are covered, that the only light is overhead, and that none of it is underneath their chosen mud. They are climbing out. And pessimism must not be called asinine, because with many it is a necessary soul-school process, and because that idealistic animal which so happily finds grapes of thistles must not be wronged. The better part of the world is instinctively avoiding the fascinating mud of Adam.

The changes are many. Rome knew no altar to Pity; but now both the scientific and the religious acknowledge the necessity for compassion. In her survival of the fittest, nature is always seeking a better fittest to survive; and the rigor of the earlier rule has been mitigated by systems and tendencies which seek the survival of all. The sense of absurdity which has been of such immeasurable benefit in weeding out the unnecessary, is for the most part modern. Varieties of wit and unnumbered refinements of thought and speech which were formerly unknown are now indispensable. Such extensive alterations in mankind make it necessary that the playwright, novelist, and painter shall, before being awarded the highest honors as an artist, do more than reproduce the undeveloped natures of prior ages.

Nature's intentions in regard to the purpose or province of art require first consideration. Man's advances have been shown to be traceable to the gradual improvement of mental concepts. Art productions are materializations of these. Artists must "see," must visualize, must "feel." The phase in which they "feel" goes into their work, and subsequently appeals for the same phase in the spectator. To allow the appeal, or, in other words, in really enjoying an art creation, he takes on the same phase in which the artist produced his work. This may tend toward a refining exaltation, or, as the case may be, toward the lowest degradation. Such effects, whether helpful or hurtful, are everywhere felt. Even the police know that certain kinds of art depiction have the effect of drawing mentalities toward debased conditions.

The faculty for imaging, and the tendency to become that which is imaged, are continually being utilized in degrading ways. He who creates has in him the shaping of other lives. This terrible truth of human life is the one most ignored. It was no rhymster's rant that certified for the power of the "choir invisible," and about the only gratitude the world extends is to those who put high ideals into their art, thus making it a lasting power for general safety and pleasure. On the other hand, when the artist, by producing fascinating kinds of lower-grade nature, causes retrogression, he is in effect personating the mediæval devil, in presenting ideals which degrade. The best value in art is not arrived at by truth to *any* kind of nature, but by truth to the better and more advanced kinds.

Those whose ideals are high object to productions which belong to grades from which they (the more refined) have emerged. With them, a production from a lower plane cannot please. With them, its effect, if any, can only be retrograding. But sometimes it may still assist the ideals of those on a lower grade. Paintings which are unacceptable for a gentleman's residence may yield pleasure and improvement in a

taproom for rustics. Plays, literature, and pictures which one class calls "wretched" have wide following and are useful elsewhere. In the scheme for general improvement nature thus ignores personal opinion and class prejudice, because all grades must be assisted contemporaneously—one law applying to the whole: that there shall be advance, that in advance is gladness, that repetition is boredom, and retrogression still worse.

Perhaps no saying has done more harm than "art for art's sake," which has provided for the countenancing of so many unprofitable pictures and plays. If these were true to some kind of nature, no matter how low, they were accepted. The advocates of this phrase have often been criminally disobedient to their own intuitions when giving high rank to low-grade expressions merely because these were true to nature. They never seem to see that when human beings have arrived at higher grades they are intended to abandon the lower ones, and sometimes even hate them. So strongly are this necessity and method for advance implanted, that the best of men often fail to see that that which to them seems vile has been and still is necessary in the lower classes of nature's schools. Our own opinion on such a point is not as a rule valuable. For instance, most of us are not competent judges as to what ideals will do the best work for a savage. The clergy were shocked when celebrated travellers declared that Mohammedanism provided African savages with a more suitable medium for advance than Christianity.

A good deal of seemingly unprofitable work may therefore be expected from younger artists who have not yet discovered the better value of elevating creations, and whose ideals are still in the earlier processes of education. It must not be forgotten that the artist, the most favored child of nature, could not be what he is unless utterly free, with both the delights and dangers of freedom surrounding him, together with faculties which may take him to the heights or to the depths. We must not always expect that this collection of nerves and sensitization which is endowed with the divine gift of creativeness will during immaturity create on the higher and latest planes. As a rule, the younger artist does not yet know them, and sometimes the low-grade visions will out, for nature's child must remain in nature's school, to there learn (often through years of bitter dissatisfaction) why the unprofitable should be discarded, and why the most advanced should be sought.

It is in these classes of the young, the beautifully endowed, who are so often hurt by false ideals, that such phrases as "art for art's sake" do their worst work, because no one explains to them how the judgments of the intuitions control. Their work may be true to nature,

it may be fully entitled to be called art, but it may also be that in which men may find encouragement for vice. And when it lures downward by presenting low-grade ideals, it reverses the natural processes which demand advance, and consequently brings happiness to no one. For example, consider the face painted by Millais in his well-known picture called "The Huguenot." Compare it with the Beardsley faces. Both may, let us admit, be equally true to nature. Yet one of them has provided an improving ideal and a sense of gladness to millions, while the other has fed the imaginations which lead to lunacy and suicide. Shall we then, by virtue of the above phrase, give Beardsley's art a high value? Something in us revolts at the thought.

These truths are felt in the intuitions of everyone who receives disgust instead of a hoped-for charm, namely, through a subconsciousness which can recognize and feel the reality of the various gradations, even though it may not define them in words.

Why should our stage depend so much for its interest on killing? Since assassination went out of fashion we do not sing national hymns in praise of it, as the Israelites did. The leer and invitation of an utterly dissolute face is thrust before us, labelled "Venus." There was a time when that face was worshipped in the orgies of a national religion; and if that was the best ideal then possible, it was good art to paint it. But can anyone expect it to give pleasure now? In earlier Athens the courtesans were the most cultured women of the world, but that fact does not save moderns from recoil and shock when the decadents of to-day flood our illustrated books with pictures of the most ignorant and worthless creatures.

After all the chatter about what is or is not "good art," it is just as well to make sure about the good art that is bad. This seeming absurdity in words helps to explain nature's proofs that art ideals are only profitable when they assist advance, and that those of earlier and lower grades will, if followed, do harm to those who have been advanced. Because art is an educating process of nature, adaptable to each individual according to his needs (and thus always working on a sliding scale), the question as to what is good in art must be nearly always relative. It is therefore perhaps incorrect to speak of any true reproduction of nature being "bad." Yet a huge amount of technically excellent work may fairly be called bad when it does so much harm.

Dr. W. S. Rainsford lately said, "Man approaches God through man." It is a statement that perhaps dimly shadows forth a truer system of man's development than any yet taught. And even if its theological flavor be removed, there is no denying the truth of the same remark in another form, that "man advances through man." It

is here that the responsibility of the artist must be appreciated, for the greater he is as an artist the nearer he comes to a god or devil to help or hurt; and this free thing that can soar above the clods of earth on the beautiful wings of fancy must teach, advance, assist, and give healthy and lovely ideals to those who imagine poorly, not necessarily by striving to accomplish these ends, but by simply allowing his own creations to advance himself, in which case they affect others over whom he is an influence, no matter how unseen.

The largest amount of modern improvement has been in such ways caused by people who had no thought of doing good. If centuries of history have at all explained the inner disposition of the artist, perhaps we are correct in saying that nothing has been further from him than a preconceived intention to do good. To outsiders he has often seemed to be the most irresponsible creature on earth. He has worked because his own creation made him glad, not to do good.

In more recent decades, however, we have witnessed a difference. The artist's sense of his peculiar freedom, his recognition of his visualizing faculty and his power to reproduce in others his own mental images, have sometimes combined to make him appreciate his responsibility to man. He has begun to realize that when driven by his own desire for happiness to create, his creations will either assist others in the gladness of advance or to the misery of retrogression. The effects upon mankind of all the work turned out, both high and low, have at last made him know that high art means man's help to man. Creeds have come and gone, but the artist-poet knew only nature's teachings. When fanaticisms have made the world discordant, some genius has taught the value of melody, and the madding chorus has hastened back, shamefaced, to get into tune. An artist is a pipe for nature's finger "to sound what stop she pleases." And when he may so potently assist the rest of mankind, is he not a nature's priest? Is there any other priesthood which possesses more power to make or mar, or with greater responsibilities? Is there any other that is paid with greater gladness?

It would be interesting to mention some who have worked on these lines — improving others without trying to improve them, not on the Strasburg goose principle, but by utilizing nature's stealth. Here are found those who exist in the imaginations of refined people. Here the uplifted life, with its dignity, gentleness, and mirth, finds place; where maidens possess much simplicity, and not all the knowledge of Paris, when youthful graces are in play. Here are shown the advance and widening of love's province, its courage, steadfastness, and delight extending the comfort of example, the exhilaration of its merriment, and the tenderness of its compassion. These are some of the latter-day

ideals which keep life sweet and make it better. But can we imagine a Bernhardt producing these? Do we go through life feeling round for daggers?

Probably we could advantageously dispense with the portrayers of a past in which nearly all the ideals were different, just as we might reluctantly part with volumes of ancient history. To modern life, as it is, they are no actual necessity. But we need those who have felt that the highest possible art makes that which is profitable become a delight, those who know that mankind has progressed when the faculty for wonderment has been attracted upward. In a world of ideals we need the ideals that help. We require anyone who can bewitch us into imitation (perhaps unconscious) of those who seem to be improvements on ourselves.

Is not this the work of a priest? Is not the artist nature's intended priest? Can his lifelong hunger to create be explained in any other way? Can the gradual self-destruction of those who debase their god-gift be otherwise explained? Can the delight of him who has created be explained in any other way? There must be some profound reason for these ever-present conditions, or else the universe is foolish. The most effective priests do not always wear sacerdotal robes. I have seen them in sloppy clothes, smoking pipes, but with the joy of a god inside them. I never knew a true artist who did not sometimes have to skip with joy. Nature's intentions were being carried out.

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION IN CANADA.

I. A STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

BY F. CLEMENT BROWN, M. A.

WE who live in the Western world may not know what freedom is, in the fullest sense, but we undoubtedly know what it is not, in a civil sense. A merchant of limited means may not be free, for example, to compete with the great modern departmental stores, for the simple reason that he cannot; men of small capital may not be free to engage in certain industries without running the risk of being forced to the wall by a combination of great corporate and moneyed rivals; men who work for the lowest living wage at which they can maintain themselves and their families may not be free to leave their posts to try to better their condition without practically facing starvation; and men and women in very many other conditions may not, and do not, enjoy a freedom that satisfies the majority of men or accords with the ideas of humanity implanted in the human breast. And yet all men in North America, at least all men in the United States, can feel that, apart from the social and industrial conditions in which they find themselves hedged, they are perfectly free to devote themselves to the pursuit of happiness in any way whatsoever that does not subvert the laws or authority of the state. The Constitution of the United States grants them civil liberty, and there is no body or organization in the land that would assume to transcend or subvert the federal power. If any church, for example, should stand up and say to an American citizen that it forbade him to engage in a certain legitimate business, and if it should enforce its demand without any intervention being offered by the state, then all men would say that that is not freedom. Men may not be quite conscious of their industrial and social thralldom, but they are extremely conscious of their civil rights.

The battles for civil freedom had all been fought, we thought, long ago, and the results firmly established in all of North America. But it seems that that was a delusion. In French Canada recent events have shown that the spirit of the Inquisition and the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Middle Ages are still actively alive in the Province of Quebec. One of the more recent occurrences of a mediæval nature was the issuance of a certain destructive *mandement* by the hierarchy of Quebec. *Mandements* are not, to be sure, unknown quantities. There

have been many others. But the last one—the last at this date of writing—was of a character that challenged the rights of free citizenship in a manner so emphatic and unmistakable that it justly aroused the whole country. The main facts of the case have been widely circulated, though not always accurately. In brief they are as follows: On Sunday, Dec. 27, 1896, an episcopal *mandement* was read in all the Roman Catholic churches of the city of Quebec, against Mr. Pacaud's paper, *L'Electeur*, the chief Liberal organ of that district. It was signed by Archbishop Begin, of Quebec, and by Bishops Laffèche, of Three Rivers; Gravel, of Nicolet; Blais, of Rimouski; and Labrecque, of Chicoutimi, being all the bishops of the ecclesiastical archdiocese of Quebec.

The pastoral letter refers to the right and duty of the bishops to warn the faithful against dangerous publications, and says this is why they publicly denounce to the faithful, *L'Electeur* newspaper, published at Quebec, whose unhealthy articles are declared to constitute a true religious and social peril. The document then goes on to enumerate the various offences committed by *L'Electeur*, all of which have tended to antagonize the authority of the church and undermine the influence of the bishops in dealing with the school policy of the Dominion, especially that of the Province of Manitoba. At the close of a somewhat lengthy preamble, the *mandement* declares that "this is why, in invoking the name of God, we interdict formally, and under penalty of grave sin and of a refusal of the sacraments, the reading of *L'Electeur*, subscribing to it, working for it, selling it, or encouraging it in any manner whatever. The prohibition applies to ecclesiastics, even to those who are privileged to read the books contained in the Index."

The result of this ordinance was the immediate blotting out of *L'Electeur*. It ceased publication at once. To survive was impossible, and any effort to do battle with the bishops would have been mere folly. The newspaper was obliterated as effectually as though the earth had opened and drawn it into the subterranean fires. Mr. Pacaud minimized the force of the blow, to be sure, by at once starting another paper under the name of *Le Soleil*, which, so far, is not placed under ban; but it will readily be seen that the liability of another *mandement* descending upon him in reality muzzles him and places him under extreme disabilities.

This is not the first instance, however, in which the life of a newspaper has been at stake. A celebrated case occurred a few years ago. The *Canada Revue* incurred the displeasure of the hierarchy and was pounced upon in a similar manner. It attempted to fight the bishops in the courts, but the process was an expensive one, and the attempt had eventually to be abandoned for lack of funds.

Such is the power of the hierarchy in the French Roman Catholic section of Canada. But is that power *legally* exercised? This is the important question now calling for solution. If the ecclesiastics have the right to destroy private property, limit discussion, and restrict the freedom of the people by the publishing of bans, then the federal laws are sadly at fault and Canada is not a free country. But it is extremely doubtful whether such a right exists. Many thinkers are strongly of opinion that it is contrary to Canadian civil law, and undoubtedly the judgment in the celebrated Guibord case several years ago lends force to that contention.

"The Guibord case," says one writer, "arose out of the founding in Montreal of a society known as the Institut Canadien. That society had in its library books the reading of which had been prohibited by the ecclesiastical authorities on pain of spiritual punishment. Guibord was a member, and he read the books. When he died he was refused interment in consecrated ground because, by belonging to the Institut and reading the books he had incurred the penalties. The claim to burial was set up by his friends, and with the greater force seeing that he had purchased the lot in which it was proposed to bury him. In the courts where the question was tried the decision turned in part upon the powers of the bishops to prohibit the reading of the books. This brought up the entire question of the ban. It was maintained in support of this institution that under the terms of the cession by which French Canada passed into the hands of the English in 1763 the bishops had all the powers which appertained to the church prior to that event, in virtue of the treaty granting to the new subjects of the British Crown the right to freely exercise their religion. One of the rights, so it was urged, was the right which the ecclesiastical authorities had under the decrees of the Council of Trent to supervise the literature of the people. This position was met by an appeal to history. In the first place it was argued that the decrees of the Council of Trent came into operation only in such countries in which they were formally proclaimed. In the next place it was shown that they had never been proclaimed in France, whence the churchmanship of Canada was derived; and, furthermore, that they had never been proclaimed in Canada. Not having been proclaimed, the power to proscribe or to ban did not rest with the bishops prior to the cession; the power not resting with the bishops prior to the cession, it does not rest with them now in virtue of the grant of privileges to which the Crown assented on the occasion of the transfer. The Privy Council indorsed this latter view. It pronounced the ban illegal, and on this basis ordered the burial of Guibord in his own lot."

This decision would seem to have an important bearing upon the legality of banning newspapers. If on the issue of prohibited books the bishops were beaten, it hardly looks as if they could succeed when prohibited newspapers are the issue. In the interest of good citizenship generally, and of civil liberty in particular, it is to be hoped that the case of *L'Electeur* will yet be thoroughly fought out in the civil tribunals.

Another case has since occurred which shows the extreme tyranny under which the Quebec press is now laboring and the abject servility that the church demands of it. Mr. Armand Tessier, proprietor of the *Protecteur du Saguenay*, had committed the offence of praising the Manitoba schools settlement, and was asked by Bishop Labrecque to

apologize. Mr. Tessier apologized, but in the same paper took occasion to make statements that rendered his apology a mere mockery. The bishop was not satisfied, and consequently sent a letter to the *curés* of the diocese, which was read in all the churches on Sunday, Jan. 3, 1897, pointing out the fact and throwing out this gentle hint:

If this sheet continues to assume the mission of spreading among the faithful of this diocese the spirit of insubordination which so justly brought condemnation on *L'Electeur*, will you notify the faithful that the same condemnation will strike it without further warning than ordinary? It is time to treat with just severity those whom neither decency nor conscience can keep in the path of duty, of Christian charity, and of obedience to those whom God has appointed to govern His Church.

Here we have a sample of the terrorism practised in Quebec. But now for the recantation which Mr. Tessier was compelled to publish or else suffer the extinction of his paper by ban. It is a model of crawling servility. After admitting that the school question is a politico-religious or mixed one, that the bishops have a perfect right to interfere in the settlement, and that the neuter school commonly called public or national has been condemned by the church, it continues:

We acknowledge that in certain articles in our paper we uttered propositions which, taken as a whole, can be legitimately interpreted as an approbation of the neuter school. We regret and retract these propositions, inasmuch as they are contrary to the doctrine of the Church as well as to the submission and respect due to its high authority. We declare categorically that we will make it a duty in future not to form a rash judgment on the moral value of the settlement of the Manitoba school question promulgated the 20th of November last. As long as the bishops, the natural judges of religious questions, will have made no pronouncement, we engage ourselves to publish nothing which can either directly or indirectly prejudice minds in a way to render them incapable of understanding the teaching of the Church, and to put it sincerely into practice when such instruction will be given by those whom the Holy Spirit has appointed to govern the Church.

But these high-handed proceedings are, after all, interesting and instructive mainly because they are links in the great chain which the hierarchy is unconsciously forging about its own neck. In the days gone by, the priesthood of Quebec have kept a sharp watch over the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of their flocks, and the flocks have always responded to the priests' bidding. "The faithful" have been instructed how to mark their ballots and at the same time warned of the penalties attached to a disregard of the instructions. The press of Quebec, if not instructed as to what it should say, has at least been instructed as to what it should not say, and these instructions have been emphasized from time to time by *mandements*. Furthermore, the Quebec press, even to-day, is not only instructed as to what it shall not say, but on certain questions is required to say nothing at all until the church has spoken. This point is made plain in the case of Mr. Tessier, just cited.

But notwithstanding all this, the days of clerical absolutism in

Quebec are passing away. "The faithful" are not so faithful as they once were. The priests are losing their hold. The flock do not always answer now to their shepherd's call. A leader has arisen who has caught the ear of his fellow French-Canadian countrymen, Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, a man who has the British idea of civil rights and whose attitude toward the church authorities is one of respect, but of great dignity and firmness. On the 23d of June the federal elections of the Dominion showed that the French Canadians had decided to exercise the franchise in the way that suited them best, not necessarily in the way that suited their ecclesiastic superiors. That day was the beginning of a new era for French Canada, and subsequent events have gone to prove it. There is a party in Quebec province to-day which knows and feels that French Canada has been unprogressive, not from any lack of ability in the race, but because of ecclesiastical domination and repression. That party wishes to unloose the shackles and give to its countrymen an opportunity with their fellow-citizens of English origin in the development of the common country. The other party, with the hierarchy at its head, wishes to keep things as they were. It does not read the signs of the times, or grasp the thought that once a people have tasted freedom they will not go back to slavery. The French Canadians are a long way yet from being out of bondage. The priesthood still have a wonderful power and influence. But the leavening process has begun.

Mandements may of course be looked for from time to time. A second one was threatened not long ago against the Manitoba school settlement, which the prime minister, Mr. Laurier, has consummated, but for some reason, best known to the Catholic officials, did not appear. The great Liberal statesman has had, forsooth, the audacity to effect a fair settlement of the vexed question, one that gives the Catholics much but not everything, and one, therefore, that is extremely distasteful to the hierarchy. The latter has not by any means seen fit to let the matter drop. No longer ago than Sunday, Jan. 17, 1897, parts of a long circular letter were read in the churches of Quebec province, by order of Archbishop Begin, director of all the bishops of his ecclesiastical province. The two most important sections in it are an attack on Mr. L. O. David's celebrated pamphlet, which advocated principles inimical to the supremacy of the church over the state, and which was published in *L'Electeur*, and an attack on the Manitoba school settlement, together with a plain implication that the fight for separate schools in Manitoba is to be persistently kept up. It will be interesting to observe, from time to time, with what success the hierarchy opposes itself not only to the whole Liberal party of Canada, but to a considerable section of the Conservative party.

But, as has been said, the leavening process has begun. The two parties that have been mentioned, the one for progress and individual freedom from ecclesiastical pressure, the other for retrogression and intellectual slavery, are dividing into camps, and a struggle, sooner or later, is bound to come. The suppression of *L'Electeur* and the forced recantation of Mr. Tessier are but incidents that mark an early stage in the conflict. The patience of Canadians is indeed phenomenal, but there is a limit to it. Would that the Roman Catholic authorities might see that their insistence on the supremacy of the church over the state will end in the complete precedence of the state and the hopeless disorganization and humiliation of the church. If they would but walk in the paths of wisdom and discretion, Canada would be saved from a long period of strife and religious animosity, and the rest of the continent from the contemplation of a distressing spectacle.

TORONTO, CANADA.

II. THE INDEX EXPURGATORIUS IN QUEBEC.

BY GEORGE STEWART, D. C. L., F. R. S. CAN.

To the Index at Rome, the hierarchy of Quebec has added a fresh title. Newspapers before this, which have incurred the disfavor of the church, have come under the ban, but the books which have been submitted to the indignity are few. In the present instance, the author yielded before his work—a mere pamphlet—was publicly condemned. It was sufficient for him to know that his writings had evoked the ecclesiastical displeasure, and, like a good churchman, he withdrew "*Le Clergé Canadien, sa Mission, son Œuvre*" from circulation, and thereby was rewarded with words of praise from lips which only a moment before had breathed scorn against the *brochure* itself.

The history of this incident may be told in a few sentences. The general elections in Canada, last June, turned largely on the Manitoba school question. In the Province of Quebec, which is mainly Roman Catholic, the battle was fought with bitterness, and in that conflict the bishops and priests played an important part. They went so far as to threaten the electors with dire ecclesiastical penalties should they support the Liberal candidates, whose plans for the settlement of the school question in a sister province were not in accord with their own. *Mandements* were issued from the pulpits of the various dioceses, and the faithful were enjoined to obey the commands of their clergy, or take

the consequences, which were severe and to some minds very fearful indeed.

On polling day, however, the voters withdrew their confidence from their spiritual advisers in large numbers, and won a victory the like of which had never been known, to the chagrin of the priests and the horror of the Conservative politicians, whose faith in clerical dictation was thus rudely shaken. A new government came into power, and the premier, a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic, presented his programme of settlement. It does not go far enough in the opinion of the priesthood, and war rages again. Archbishop Langevin says the battle has just commenced. Mr. L. O. David, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, the author of several works of merit, and a writer of considerable force, felt constrained to enter a protest against the action of the fathers of his church. This took the form of a small book of a hundred and twenty-five pages, which appeared without the imprint of any publisher or printer. The mechanics evidently determined to run no risks, and probably knew beforehand what the result of the venture would be. Mr. David had the courage of his convictions, and has paid the penalty for his rashness in trying to teach the clergy their duty. That was his great mistake, as he has found to his cost.

His work takes him back to 1837, the year of the Canadian Rebellion, and he is especially bitter against the clergy of those days for siding with the Imperial government and the local bureaucracy, and against their fellow-compatriots, who were sacrificing their all for liberty of conscience and political freedom. The bishops, by their course, certainly checked the progress of the revolt and precipitated matters much more quickly than the bayonets of the British soldiers would have done, albeit they were very active. The rebels, who were characterized as brigands, were threatened with the refusal of the sacraments of the church, even if they were on the point of death. Ecclesiastical burial to those who died without making reparation was also denied them.

Mr. David tells all these things, and a great deal more, in a graphic and spirited manner, and carries his narrative down during a period of more than half a century. He shows how the clergy worked perpetually against the Liberal party, whenever Liberals and Conservatives came into contact. They tried to make it appear that the Liberals were bad Catholics, and that the doctrines they preached militated against the best interests of the church. Rome, on being appealed to, stepped in, and the bishops were cautioned and told that they were going too far, and further persistence might seriously estrange large bodies of the faithful. This had an appreciable effect for a time, but the clergy returned to their first love, and privately and publicly con-

demned the Liberals. Mr. David proves conclusively that the priesthood opposed every political measure brought forward by the Liberals, even when forced to accept as allies members of the Orange society and the Freemasons, organizations which, on principle, they could not tolerate. And he adds: "The majority of Conservative leaders for thirty years having been leaders of secret societies, and particularly of the Orange sect, how can the bishops and clergy justify themselves for having favored them? Since it is always necessary to strictly obey the church and its decrees, how have the clergy been able for thirty years to disobey prescriptions so absolute, orders given under pain of excommunication? Why this harshness and this thunder against the Liberal chiefs, who have never been condemned by the church, and this sympathy, these violent crusades, for chiefs of condemned societies? These questions have never been answered."

That Mr. David makes out a good case, fortified by evidence, against clerical prejudice must be admitted. Even Conservatives have stated over and over again that the clergy were on their side. During the last elections, the Quebec leaders of that party were so convinced of the efficacy of the *mandement* in their behalf, that one of their number telegraphed to his prime minister, Sir Charles Tupper, that a majority of at least twenty would be given him at the close of the polls. But the electors, using the secret ballot, kept their own counsel, voted for a compatriot for premier, and sent the *mandement* of the bishops to the four winds of heaven. Everybody was surprised, including the Liberals. But the most surprised of all were the Conservative chiefs and their supporters.

Emboldened by his success in arraigning the clergy through the gradations which finally bring him to the Manitoba schools, Mr. David allows his pen to run riot when he comes to discuss the events of yesterday. Briefly sketching the situation up to date, he describes the action of the clergy as the performance of the "old game," — a phrase which must have greatly disturbed the serenity of the sacerdotal, — and says:

Naturally the school question was the ground prepared for the holy war, the field of battle where the sacred standard was to be raised. The clergy, according to their custom, replied to the appeal of the Conservative party, and the bishops began hostilities by launching a collective *mandement* in which the electors were invited to elect only men decided to restore to the Catholics of Manitoba their separate schools.

This is clear enough, in all conscience, as to the wishes of the clergy, but Mr. David emphasizes his views in stronger terms as to their motives, saying, "the clergy saw nothing, heard nothing, except that which permitted them to crush the Liberal party." That is the charge he makes, and his whole pamphlet is crowded with testimony

substantially sustaining his object, which is to show that the clergy, "by fighting Mr. Laurier, in the name of religion, by violating the conscience of the electors, committed a grave fault." He does not deny to the religious authorities the right of raising their voices in certain cases to condemn principles which are false and fatal to religion and society, but he refuses them the right to drive from the church men who wish to exercise freely their privileges as citizens, and to fulfil their duties as Catholics and patriots according to their judgment and conscience. He believes, in a word, that the citizens are in a "better position than members of the clergy to choose the best mode of securing the triumph of a great religious and national principle, and to judge of the effect and bearing of a law." He asks that "when ecclesiastical authorities will intervene, they be united, that the instructions be the same everywhere, and that this intervention be made according to all the rules of wisdom and charity. I have said," he continues, "that it would be difficult to secure acceptance and respect in America for a religion interpreted by men who would make it a scarecrow for liberty, progress, and civilization. With violence, Protestants are made."

These strictures awakened the severest displeasure of the church, and Mr. David was promptly disciplined for making them. A Liberal paper in Quebec, the *Electeur*, for seventeen years the special organ of its party, republished the pamphlet in full, openly attacked the bishops and *curés*, and even criticised their conduct. For these crimes it was placed upon the Index, and the faithful were commanded from the pulpits not to buy it, read it, or advertise in it. The usual pains and penalties for disobedience of these orders were threatened. The result was the immediate withdrawal of the *Electeur*, copyright and all, from circulation, and in its stead was reared *Le Soleil*. But the *Soleil* is in no danger of being put under the ban. It will not offend the church. A burnt child dreads the fire. In the meantime Mr. David's pamphlet was in Rome, enduring examination at the hands of that august tribunal, the Sacred Congregation of the Index. It was found to be a most mischievous production, for under the cover of patriotism and religion "were agglomerated erroneous principles, appeals to prejudices and passions, abusive interpretations of documents, travesty of historical facts, perfidious insinuations, and grave irreverence toward the authority and persons of the Bishops. Each and every member of the faithful is held, under pain of great disobedience to the Holy See, to destroy this book immediately or remit it to his confessor, who will do so. To refuse to submit would be a grave error, and absolution therefor is reserved to the bishop."

This anathema was too much for Mr. David. As soon as he learned — and he was on the tenter-hooks, one may well suppose, while wait-

ing for the verdict — that his work had been condemned, he wrote to the newspapers :

I submit to the judgment, and withdraw my *brochure* from all the newstands where it was on sale. I think it proper to add that I am alone responsible for the *brochure*, which I wrote myself from the first to the last word. *Dura lex, sed lex.*

The Index is a powerful weapon with which to scourge the recalcitrant. In Europe, where it is less frequently used, circumstances being taken into consideration, it is not as potent as it is in Quebec. The good French Canadian Catholic has a mortal dread of its sting, and well he may, for it means social and commercial ruin to him.

QUEBEC CITY, CANADA.

LINCOLN AND THE MATSON NEGROES.

A VISTA INTO THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE DAYS.

BY JESSE W. WEIK.

LONG after the close of the late war in the United States the law of the sovereign State of Illinois contained this heartless provision :

No black or mulatto person shall be permitted to reside in this State until such person shall produce to the County Commissioners' Court, where he or she is desirous of settling, a certificate of his or her freedom ; which certificate shall be duly authenticated in the same manner that is required to be done in the cases arising under the acts and judicial proceedings of other States. And until such person shall have given bond with sufficient security to the people of this State for the use of the proper county, in the penal sum of one thousand dollars, conditioned that such person will not at any time become a charge to said county or any other county of this State as a poor person, and that such person shall at all times demean himself or herself in strict conformity with the laws of this State that now or may hereafter be enacted, it shall not be lawful for such free negro or mulatto to reside in this State.

Another section read :

If any person shall harbor such negro or mulatto aforesaid, not having such certificate thereof, or shall hire or in any way give sustenance to such negro or mulatto not having such certificate of freedom, and not having given bond, shall be fined in the sum of five hundred dollars, one-half thereof to the use of the county, and the other half to the party giving information thereof.

Although Illinois was adjoined on two sides by slave territory, yet prosecutions for violations of this odious statute, commonly known as the Black Law, were of rare occurrence within her borders. Owen Lovejoy, who drank so deeply and persistently at the fountain of Abolitionism that he has been compared to Otis, the "flame of fire" in colonial days, brought down upon himself the mighty arm of the law for "harboring a certain fugitive slave girl named Agnes." This occurred as early as May, 1842 ; and early in the following October he was again indicted for the same offence in connection with "a certain negro girl named Nance," in the circuit court of Bureau County, Illinois. Aside, however, from the intervention of the law which men of his violent stripe provoked by their persistent hostility and defiant attitude, we find but little evidence of the enforcement of this statute in the existing court records of the State.

It has been the privilege of the writer, however, after a laborious search among records, to unearth one suit for a violation of the Black Law which, but for the subsequent fame of one of its participants,

might have remained buried under the dust of ever-deepening forgetfulness. In order properly to appreciate the story of this suit it will be necessary to relate a few antecedent facts.

Early in 1843 Robert Matson, unmarried and well connected by family ties at his home in Bourbon County, Kentucky, purchased a large tract of land in the northeastern portion of Coles County, Illinois, subsequently known as Black Grove. True to the Kentucky custom of that day, he proceeded to "stock" his new purchase with the due proportion of slaves for farm labor and household purposes. After the crops had been gathered and when the year neared its close he returned the negroes to Kentucky, and speedily replaced them with another contingent from the same locality, under the impression, then prevalent, that by making frequent changes each instalment would, if interrupted by officers of the law, be held to be *in transitu* and thus not lose their legal status as slaves or acquire any of the rights of freemen by having been in the State of Illinois.

One negro, named Anthony Bryant, he permitted to acquire his freedom by remaining over from year to year, and he, by reason of his continuous service, was permitted to officiate as foreman or overseer. This negro, taking advantage of the opportunities which his advanced position gave him, made some attempts at an education, and had so far progressed in that direction as to be able, "by keeping his forefinger on the line, to spell his way slowly through the Bible"; and at religious gatherings he was often allowed to exercise the functions of exhorter, or local preacher. This son of Ham had a wife and four children, who formed part of the contingent of negroes which had arrived from Kentucky early in the year 1847.

These latter, at the end of their sojourn, would, doubtless, have returned to their former home beyond the Ohio as willingly as their predecessors had gone, but for the officious intervention of Matson's housekeeper, a white woman named Mary Corbin, whom the former had installed in that questionable relation as mistress of his household. She was a woman of ungovernable temper, and one day, venting her displeasure upon Jane, the wife of Anthony, soundly berated her, threatening her with immediate return to Kentucky, where she and her brood should be sold by their master and go "way down South in the cotton fields." That threat never failed of its effect on a slave. The poor negro woman stood transfixed as if doomed.

Anthony, too, heard the sentence, but it only roused him to a determined resistance. Driving to the neighboring village of Oakland, he told his sorrows to a crowd of listeners. Two men who heard his story were deeply stirred. They were brave and resolute, and firm in the faith that the "soil of Illinois should be made too hot for the foot

of a slave." One of them, Hiram Rutherford, a young physician, had emigrated from a point in Pennsylvania not far from Philadelphia; the other, Gideon M. Ashmore, hailed from the Duck River region of Tennessee. Though apparently antipodal in origin and early training, both these sturdy pioneers had the same inborn sense of justice, and both were thoroughly inoculated with what was then believed to be the virus of Abolitionism.

"We told the frightened old negro," related Dr. Rutherford to the present writer several years ago, "to return to the Matson place and bring his family down to us, spiriting them away, if necessary, during the night. Realizing the danger of such a proceeding both to us and to the slaves, we quietly invoked the aid of a few discreet and fair-minded friends. The time had now come for us to show our hands. We met at the home of Ashmore, and had our forces within hailing distance by nine o'clock that night. We waited till midnight, when the party, father, mother, and one child, on horseback, the rest on foot, arrived, all excited and panting from their hurried journey across the prairie. They remained with us several days, although Matson and one of his trusted friends, Joseph Dean, endeavored by alternate appeals and threats to win them from our protection. Failing in this, Matson resorted to the only alternative left: he executed before William Gilman, a justice of the peace, the affidavit required by the statute in such cases, and the negroes were thereupon taken to Charleston, the county seat, and lodged in the jail. This was just what we wanted — the intervention of the law. The trial before Squire Gilman consumed the better part of two days. Orlando B. Ficklin, a lawyer of recognized ability, consented to appear for the negroes, and Usher F. Linder, another attorney living in Charleston, was retained by Matson. After wrestling with the case for several days, Gilman, who was an exceedingly deliberate individual, decided that he had no jurisdiction as to the question of freedom, but, finding the negroes in Illinois, and therefore outside of a slave state without letters of freedom, he remanded them to the custody of the sheriff. Matson's plan, in case the magistrate gave him possession of the slaves, was to transport them to the Ohio River and thence across to Kentucky soil as speedily as possible. Joe Dean had a wagon and horses in readiness for the purpose, and I myself saw the rope with which it was proposed to tie the negroes in case they should resist or become unduly demonstrative. In anticipation of this move, however, Ashmore and I had certain men detailed to overtake the party the moment they drove beyond the town limits of Charleston."

The court records of Coles County, so far as they relate to this case, show that the negroes were confined in the Charleston jail during the better part of the fall of 1847, the sheriff, a facetious individual, having filed with the lawyers' papers a bill against Matson for "Keaping and Dieting five negrows forty Eight Days at thirty-seven cents each per day."

State of Illinois Robert Matson vs.
 Coles County A. G. Mitchell J. P. Sheriff
 vs. Keaping & Dieting five Negrows
 forty Eight Days at 37 cents Each
 per Day \$107.50
 Keaping and Discharging \$3.75
 \$111.25

What the peculiar items of diet were the records fail to state. Meanwhile litigation, as the result of this attempt to deprive the negroes of their liberty, did not cease. Matson was arrested and convicted on the charge of having lived in improper relations with Mary Corbin, his housekeeper; he, in turn, brought suit against both Rutherford and Ashmore, claiming damages for the detention of his slaves; and the latter filed a petition in the circuit court demanding their release by virtue of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

At this juncture, and in the midst of the cross-firing of these varied court proceedings, there is a pause in the play, and the man destined to reach immortality as the Great Emancipator steps into view. Here again we must let Dr. Rutherford — for he alone of all the participants still survives — take up the story:

Ashmore and I, having espoused the cause of the slaves, now fell under the shadow of Matson's wrath. His revenge culminated in a suit brought against us in the circuit court under the Black Law, demanding damages in the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars, or five hundred dollars for each slave. As soon as the summons was served on me I rode down to Charleston to hire a lawyer. I had known Abraham Lincoln several years, and his views and mine on the wrong of slavery being in perfect accord, I determined to employ him; besides, everyone whom I consulted advised me to do so. I found him at the tavern sitting on the veranda, his chair tilted back against one of the wooden pillars, entertaining the bystanders and loungers gathered about the place with one of his irresistible and highly-flavored stories. My head was full of the impending lawsuit, and I found it a great test of my patience to await the end of the chapter then in process of narration. Before he could begin on another I interrupted and called him aside. I told in detail the story of my troubles, reminded him that we had always agreed on the questions of the day, and asked him to represent me at the trial of my case in court. He listened attentively as I recited the facts leading up to the controversy with Matson, but I noticed a peculiarly troubled look came over his face now and then, his eyes appeared to be fixed in the distance beyond me, and he shook his head several times as if debating with himself some question of grave import. At length, and with apparent reluctance, he answered that he could not defend me, because he had already been counselled with in Matson's interest, and was therefore under professional obligations to represent the latter unless released. This was a grievous disappointment, and irritated me into expressions more or less bitter in tone. He seemed to feel this, and even though he endeavored in his plausible way to reconcile me to the proposition that, as a lawyer, he must represent and be faithful to those who counsel with and employ him, I appeared not to be convinced. I remember retorting that "my money was as good an any one's else," and although thoroughly in earnest I presume I was a little too hasty.

The interview and my quick temper, I am sure, made a deep impression on Mr. Lincoln, because, a few hours latter, he despatched a messenger to me with the information that he had sent for the man who had approached him in Matson's behalf, and if they came to no more decisive terms than at first he would probably be able to represent me. In a very brief time this was followed by another message, that he could now easily and consistently free himself from Matson, and was, therefore, in a position, if I employed him, to conduct my defence. But it was too late; my pride was up, and I plainly indicated a disinclination to avail myself of his offer. Instead, I employed Charles H. Constable, a lawyer who had emigrated to Illinois from Maryland, a classical scholar, fluent and ready in debate, and of commanding physical presence. Ashmore made terms with Orlando B. Ficklin, a Kentuckian who had already won considerable renown as a lawyer, and had been more or less conspicuous in politics.

Strangely enough neither of these men, by reason of early surroundings, had evinced any decided opposition to slavery; in fact, one of them, in some respects, upheld it, and the other leaned so far in his prejudices toward the South, slaves and all, that he was arrested for uttering sentiments disloyal to the United States during the late war.

The court records show that the decision in the *habeas corpus* proceeding, which was tried before Judges Wilson and Treat, of the Supreme Court of the State, who had come down to Charleston for that purpose, virtually disposed of the suit for damages. The case was one of far-reaching importance, and lawyers and people generally were interested in the outcome. In his argument Mr. Lincoln demonstrated his instinctive honesty and his signal weakness in upholding a cause which failed to meet the approval of his conscience. "I remember well," is the testimony of one of his colleagues, "how he presented his side of the case; 'This then,' he explained, 'is the point on which this whole case turns: Were these negroes passing over and crossing the State, and thus, as the law contemplates, *in transitu*, or were they actually located by consent of their master? If only crossing the State that act did not free them, but if located, even indefinitely, by the consent of their owner and master, their emancipation logically followed. It is, therefore, of the highest importance,' he continued, 'to ascertain the true purpose and intent of Matson in placing these negroes on the Black Grove farm.'"

It is plain that this statement of Mr. Lincoln gave his case away! In the face of these admissions, no proof beyond the testimony of an ignorant, worthless fellow, who was easily and ruthlessly impeached, was or could have been produced to sustain the theory that the slaves were not located or domiciled, but were only *in transitu*. Mr. Lincoln laid stress on the fact that when Matson placed a slave on his Illinois farm, he declared publicly — the attesting witness being, generally, an irresponsible farm hand — that the settlement was not permanent, and that no counter-statement had ever been made in public or private by him. But even if true, this was not tenable ground, for Mr. Lincoln knew that these declarations of Matson were made with a design to be used in future for his own benefit, and therefore were of no more significance or weight as evidence in the case than any other verbal statement made in his own interest. Mr. Lincoln was pitifully weak and half-hearted in his prosecution of the case.

His associate, Linder, both eloquent and bold, went a bowshot beyond him, and, by contending that the recognition of slavery by the Federal Constitution was coupled with the corresponding obligation of protecting slaves as well as other chattels wherever the Constitution obtained and had sway, enunciated a doctrine that grated harshly on

the ears of people so far removed from the presence of actual slavery as were the residents of Coles County, Illinois.

"We were forced to rely," related Mr. Ficklin, one of the counsel for the defence, several years since, "on the Ordinance of 1787 and the Constitution of Illinois; but nothing helped us so much as the decisions of the English courts. The English people were unquestionably more obstinately hostile to African slavery at that time than were we on this side of the water, and the decisions of their courts, therefore, betokened a broader and more liberal spirit than ours. I shall never forget how Lincoln winced when Constable quoted from Curran's defence of Rowan: 'I speak in the spirit of the British law, which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from British soil; which proclaims even to the stranger and sojourner the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy and consecrated by the genius of universal emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him, and he stands regenerated and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation.' Even Linder's trenchant wit and fervid eloquence — and no man more completely moved others by his language than Usher F. Linder — failed to keep the court from drifting around to the position Constable and I had taken. Our triumph was complete, and we had every reason to feel that our enthusiasm and zeal had not been wasted in advocacy of an unjust or unrighteous cause."

The further history of this case, as obtained from the decree of the court, signed Oct. 16, 1847, shows that Jane Bryant and her four hapless children "are discharged from the custody as well of the Sheriff as of Robert Matson and all persons claiming them by, through, or under him, as slaves, and they shall be and remain free and discharged from all servitude whatever to any person or persons from henceforward and forever."

We have the testimony of Dr. Rutherford in support of the fact that, "after the trial, which ended Saturday night, Matson left the country, crossed the Wabash river on his way to Kentucky, evaded his creditors, and *never paid Lincoln his fee.*" The suit for damages against Rutherford and Ashmore, in the prosecution of which Thomas A. Marshall, a lawyer in Charleston and a member of the Marshall family famous in Kentucky, was meanwhile joined with Lincoln and Linder, was, on plaintiff's motion, dismissed; and the following morning, after a wholesome breakfast, Lincoln, "mounted on his old gray mare, ruefully set out for the next county on the circuit. As he threw across the animal's back his saddle-bags, filled with soiled linen and crumpled court papers, and struck out across the 'measureless prairie,' he gave no further sign, if he experienced it, of any regret because, as a lawyer, he had upheld the cause of the strong against the weak."

A few days later old Anthony Bryant, determined to leave the scene of his troubles, converted what effects he had into cash, and

Rutherford and Ashmore collected by subscription from sympathizing friends about Oakland money enough to transport the now liberated slaves to the Mississippi river. Ashmore wagoned the brood across the country, making stops at Springfield, Jacksonville, and other places, where more money was contributed by persons whose sympathies were awakened by the story of their oppression and struggle for freedom. Strange enough, one of the donors at Springfield was Lincoln's law-partner, William H. Herndon. Arrived at Quincy, Ashmore turned back; thence the negroes floated down the Father of Waters to New Orleans, at which point, being freedmen, they were to set out across the Atlantic for their destination in Liberia.¹

¹ "After the trial ended and the slaves had left for Liberia, I was again in the hospitable home of my old friend Ashmore. Isaac Rogers also was present. He had borne a noble part in the trial. Taking from his pocket a bank bill and extending it to Mr. Ashmore, he said, 'Here, Matt, is the balance due from me on account of the Matson slave trial, and it does me more good to pay it than any bill I ever met in my life, because now I am sure I have helped some poor slave to gain his liberty.'" — *From unpublished MS. by Rev. John Wood.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

APRIL 15, 1865.

BY FRANC REMINGTON.

The cycling year now marks the day's returning,
On which the nation mourned her fallen chief,
When rich and poor alike were joined in mourning,
And all the land was eloquent of grief.

The flags waved low upon that sad to-morrow,
And heavy on the breezes seemed to lie ;
While men met, speechless with their weight of sorrow,
And grasped each other's hands all silently.

The solemn bells rang out from every steeple,
For him whose word delivered the oppressed,
As on they bore him 'mid the stricken people,
And laid him, as a king is laid to rest.

And yet no robe of state was folded round him,
No diadem that rugged brow bedecked ;
His gracious words and kindly deeds best crowned him,
And robed him best his kingly intellect.

A royal soul, that knew nor fear nor quailing ;
Mighty to suffer for the cause he loved ;
When foes were mocking and when friends were failing,
He stood upon the rock of Right unmoved.

As the disciples met their Lord at even,
And walked with Him amid the gathering night,
And felt their hearts burn when He talked of heaven,
But knew Him not until He left their sight, —

So there were those who journeyed close beside thee,
And knew thee not, O grand, heroic heart!
And trust and sympathy were oft denied thee,
As thou didst walk thy burdened way apart.

And when at last their eyelids were unsealed,
And they beheld thy noble soul aright,
By Time's uncompromising light revealed,
Lo! thou didst pass forever from their sight.

But we who dwell beneath thy later glory,
O grand and true! — we see thee as thou art.
Year after year we tell again thy story,
And shrine thee close and closer in the heart.

But all the tribute that our hearts can render,
Can ne'er enhance the lustre of thy name.
We murmur it in accents grave and tender,
And leave, still shining on, thy deathless fame.

Year after year thy name on history's pages
Shall brighter grow in Truth's transcendent ray;
Thine is the vindication of the ages,
And thine the crown that fadeth not away.

THE NIÑA ARCADIA.

A LEAF FROM LIFE IN HONDURAS.

BY GERTRUDE G. DE AGUIRRE.

I WAS one of a group of Americans who sat on a wide veranda one Sunday afternoon in Honduras. Our host and hostess were Americans, and the big new adobe house they had built stood alone on the side of a baby mountain, commanding a fine view of the capital in the distance.

The city's red-tiled roofs and white walls glinting in the dying sunshine, and the limpid river running round it, made a picture whose beauty we were not slow to comment on. As we were all familiar with the realities to be found under its picturesque red roofs, and most of us dismally homesick, things were said about the enchantment lent by distance — things intended to be humorous, but for the most part stale and unprofitable.

Still, we were courteous enough to take them as fresh and mirth-provoking, and to laugh at the correct time, though it was a perfunctory and somewhat grim order of laughter which deceived nobody.

Talk was taking its usual drift when Americans meet in that country, which is to find fault with everybody and condemn everything. They themselves may dwell in the depths of insignificance at home, but when in any part of Spanish America they look down on everything native from an eminence of self-conceit positively astounding. They have a contemptible habit of measuring everything by their standard of civilization. Whatever fails to conform to that must be sneered at and despised, — sure sign of the "little learning" well known to be "a dangerous thing."

In this carping spirit conversation moved on.

A man who had made history in his own country, which he was then industriously trying to forget, was particularly severe on Central Americans. Lazy, untruthful, sly, cunning, and supremely selfish he painted them, laying on the colors with no niggardly hand.

One of the ladies gently protested against this wholesale condemnation, ending her protest by reminding him that our own countrymen were by no means flawless.

"Of course we are not angels," he said, with a self-satisfied shrug, "but we are not unmitigatedly selfish. We do forget ourselves some-

times in pulling others out of holes. The American" (meaning a native of the United States) "may be very unsymmetrical in character and conduct, but for the most part he has one quality we can rely on: he will give his last dollar to help a friend. These people wouldn't do that to save their fathers and all their race from perdition."

"Is the American conspicuous for giving something better than dollars?" asked the lady; and there were unuttered things in her calm, clear eyes.

"Something better?" he echoed, greatly astonished. "Why, what is better? The world over the test of friendship and generosity is to share your money with your friend."

"It has always seemed to me an easy thing to give money when one has it, and no particular proof of unselfishness or friendship," said his opponent. "Usually it is the least troublesome thing we can do, the cheapest thing we can give. There are many better things. Our time, labor, sympathy, and love — these are all better, all costlier than money. Life itself is sometimes freely given, and this is the last, best gift. Perhaps any of us could give our money or more to a friend; but the true test of unselfishness is to give of our most precious possessions to those not our friends, to those whose wretched condition, perhaps, inspires loathing in all but the great-hearted."

"Well, if there are any such big souls on the earth, they are not indigenous to this soil, I am sure," said he, with a satisfied grin, thinking he was perpetrating humor.

The lady had some journals and magazines fresh from the States on her lap. With the view, doubtless, of quieting our self-satisfied countryman's too critical tongue, some one asked her to read aloud. Something had to be done, as one of our number had a Spanish-American husband, and assuredly could not enjoy hearing such wholesale condemnation of his race.

"I will read a poem I find here," she said. "It is by James Buckingham, and is called 'The Plate of Gold.'"

We begged her for the poem, with the greatest sincerity, as literature of any brand was scarce enough to be valued highly.

In the most musical of voices she read:

One day there fell in great Benares temple court
A wondrous plate of gold, whereon these words were writ:
"To him who loveth best, a gift from heaven."

The story ran that the priests then made proclamation to the effect that at midday all claimants to the gift should assemble and tell of the deeds on which their claims were based. The news flew fast, so that soon from every quarter and of every class they came. For a year the

priests sat in solemn council hearing the tales of the claimants who came and went.

At last, after they had patiently weighed the worth of all, they bestowed the gift on one who seemed the largest lover of his race, for he had parted his whole estate among the poor. But at his first finger-touch the gold changed to lead. While all stood aghast he dropped it clanging on the floor, where it was again transformed to shining gold.

Then the priests sat and judged another year. Three times they made the award, and as often heaven refused the gift. Meantime hosts of maimed beggars lay all about the temple gate, and gold rained freely into their hands; but not one of those who gave, so much as turned to look compassionately into the eyes of those who begged.

The second year had almost passed, and still the gold was turned to lead as soon as touched. One day there came a simple peasant to pay a vow within the temple. He had never heard of the strange contest for the plate of gold; but as he passed along the line of shrivelled and maimed beggars, all his soul was moved to pity, and sympathetic tears trembled in his eyes.

Now by the temple gate

There lay a poor sore creature, blind and shunned by all.
But when the peasant came and saw the sightless face
And trembling, festered hands, he could not pass, but knelt,
And took both palms in his, and softly said: "O thou,
My brother! bear thy trouble bravely. God is good."
Then he arose and walked straightway across the court,
And entered where they wrangled of their deeds of love before the priests.

Awhile he listened sadly; then

Had turned away; but something moved the priest who held
The plate of gold to beckon to the peasant. So
He came, not understanding, and obeyed, and stretched
His hand and took the sacred vessel. Lo! it shone
With thrice its former lustre and amazed them all!
"Son," cried the priest, "rejoice! The gift of God is thine.
Thou lovest best!" And all made answer, "It is well,"
And one by one departed. But the peasant knelt
And prayed, bowing his head above the golden plate;
While o'er his soul like morning streamed the love of God.

The listeners were silent. The beautiful tale had gone to their hearts, and lifted them above the cheap phrases of appreciation which rush readily to the lips of the shallow.

The American who believed in Americans and nobody else soon broke the spell.

"That's all very fine for old Benares," he said contemptuously, "but it won't do for our country and these times. We are too far along in science to go about hugging beggars that way. One could catch some disease by such nonsense. Neither does gold come to us from heaven

in platefuls. We get it by being sharper than our neighbors." He spoke in dead earnest and according to his light.

Nobody disputed with him. His unabashed disclosure struck us all dumb. Taking this for a proof that we were silenced by his superior wisdom he went on:

"If a plate of gold were put up here for that kind of a raffle nobody would get it — nobody born in Honduras at any rate."

"The niña Arcadia is coming," said our hostess; "I am so glad. I want you all to meet her. She is a magnificent character, a kind of moral Amazon seldom found in any country."

The large, bare grounds surrounding the house were enclosed by a thick adobe wall seven or eight feet high. From the gateway a wide walk led to the door. Slowly up this path came the niña Arcadia, a tall, large, Juno like figure. She moved with a grave stateliness, which gave an old-time elegance to the flow of her wide skirts. The rest of her costume was hidden under the inevitable pañolon, a large richly fringed silk shawl of fine texture, without which no Honduran lady ever appears on the street. Her head, however, was bare, after the custom of the country, but shaded by a handsome silk parasol, also deeply fringed. (Next to the pañolon the parasol is the Honduran lady's most important adjunct of apparel, and must be costly as her purse can buy.) Her dark hair was parted plainly in the middle, and hung down her back in two long shining braids. But about the forehead delicate little rings clustered airily.

The niña Arcadia means "the child Arcadia." In Honduras the old Spanish custom of addressing every lady by her Christian name still obtains. Invariably, however, the word *niña* (pronounced *neen-yah*, with the accent on the first syllable) is prefixed, and is a term of affectionate respect, applied only to those of the upper class. She may be eighty years old; but to her friends and servants she is always the *niña* Maria, Juana, or whatever her name may be. *Dofia* is the formal title, but to those who cling to old usage *niña* is believed to convey more delicate regard.

The niña Arcadia walked between two atoms of humanity in short, starched skirts, and with legs and feet very correctly clad. Their faces were completely hidden by wide-brimmed, modish hats, the very pinnacle of luxury and splendor in Honduras, where millinery is a modern innovation, and costs ruinous prices.

When the lady reached the house she was introduced to each of us in turn. She acknowledged the introduction to the ladies with the pretty, graceful embrace there in vogue as the polite manner of greeting or adieu. To the gentlemen she made a courteous but yet most formal bow.

Then it was that we saw the atoms shorn of their hats, and were dumfounded at the sight. Two uglier or more weird little beings it would be hard to find in or out of Honduras. They were of Indian and Caribbean mixture, without a drop of white blood in them, and were miserable specimens of their miserable class at that. They had dark, dark skins, long, lean old faces, big, solemn eyes, elfishly thin bodies, and little claw-like hands. Both were so extraordinarily ugly that there was no choice between them. You could not say that one was either better-looking or uglier than the other, and there appeared not to be a day's difference in their ages. They were about five years old, and their names were Ramona and Esther.

Our hostess explained in English — of which her visitor did not understand a word — that these were the niña Arcadia's adopted children. Perhaps we let our astonishment show in our faces. Anyhow she went on to tell us that her friend had been the mother of four children, all of whom had died, and that she and her husband had taken these two hopeless little creatures when they were tiny babies, because there was nobody else to do for them, there being no orphan asylums in Honduras. One was the child of a servant who went away leaving it on their hands. About the same time the parents of the other, who lived near, died of smallpox, and there was nobody to care for it; in fact, nobody would go near it. Both babies were ill from neglect, so ill that the work of building them up looked almost impossible.

The niña Arcadia gave them a mother's care, doing everything for them with her own hands, and as a matter of course passing many a sleepless night and wearisome day. By her intelligent and faithful care she had brought them from the very verge of the grave; and, incredible as it seemed, she loved them as her own. In all particulars they were treated as her children, and they were not to know anything to the contrary as long as she and her husband could prevent it. She dressed them in fine and fashionable clothes, and where she went they went.

And how they loved her!

They sat, one on either side of her, on low seats, and constantly caressed and kissed her hands and her garments, and sprang up from time to time to kiss her lips, each vying with the other as to which could show the greater affection for her.

She told them to dance, and, unabashed, they stepped forth and executed a quaint and feathery dance they had taught themselves, an inherited memory of their Toltec ancestors, perhaps.

Meantime the niña Arcadia watched them with her placid, patient, kind eyes. Hers was a fine face on which rested a rare and noble composure. She was sweetly unaware that her attitude toward these dusky human atoms was unusual. She never thought of her mothering of

them as a sacrifice, or as a work that called for special nobility of heart. It had come in her way, and she had done it without hesitation; but never for a moment did she think of making a merit of it. Now she found great pleasure in it because she loved them.

When she left us and was moving down the long walk, leading the two little girls, some one said:

"The plate of gold would never turn to lead if given to her. She loveth best."

All assented, even he who had declared that unselfishness was not indigenous to Central-American soil.

"I am beaten without moving out of my tracks," he said. "This is ahead of giving one's last dollar to a friend, far and away. Nothing I know of can hold a candle to it. All the love I have ever seen has been rank selfishness beside this, and couldn't touch the plate of gold with a ten-foot pole. It beats the man in old Benares, too. Little did I think I was to see my first angel down here in Honduras."

COEDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

BY MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

*Ex-President of the National Council of Women of the United States, and
Vice-President at large of the International Council of Women.*

OF all the tendencies in current education, none is more marked than the tendency to educate girls and women seriously. Society formerly refused women the higher education on the ground that, being cut off from large interests, they had no use for large culture. In so far as that argument was sound, the large interests which society now confides to women are an unanswerable argument for giving them the higher education.

With the discussion concerning the higher education of women has been the other contention of coeducation, and the two have been frequently treated as if synonymous terms presenting identical claims. The problem of coeducation has really been solved by State universities, as coeducation in the higher institutions supported by the State was the necessary and logical sequence of coeducation in the primary, grammar, and high schools maintained at public cost. Coeducation began in the necessities of pioneer life, and spread in the common schools; it was the sense of justice to the taxpayers that opened the State universities to the system; and it was the influence of the latter which compelled the opening of non-State colleges, as it was only by admitting women that these could compete with the coeducational State universities.

Coeducation has passed the stage where it can be spoken of as a tendency. The fact that, without petition or discussion, such private institutions as the Leland Stanford Jr. University and the University of Chicago were from the beginning open to women, shows that the wisdom and feasibility of coeducation in the higher institutions is no longer an open question in the public mind. The habit of the present time, however, is to emphasize the best opportunities for higher education rather than to insist upon coeducation. Originally to ask for the best opportunities was to ask to be admitted to institutions which had been founded and organized for men, as no institution offering first-rate opportunities existed for women alone. At the present time, however, opportunities of the highest order, not identical, but perhaps equally rich in possible fruitage, may be found either with coeducation or without it.

It really is not in the university at the present moment that the tendency to treat the education of women seriously is most marked, but in the secondary school. This may be seen by a comparison of the bulletins, catalogues, and programmes of the leading secondary schools for girls in our country as recently, say, as in 1876, with the corresponding documents of the present year. The subjects of study, the time allotted to their mastery, the attitude toward the further development of the pupil, and, above all, the general comments of the principals respecting the advantages offered and the object sought, tell the whole story.

They strikingly illustrate the social change from the period which regarded the daughter of every family in comfortable circumstances mainly as an ornament and a luxury, to the present situation in which the daughters are educated with respect not only to their social position and to the purses of their fathers, but to their own qualities, their possible abilities, and their right to use them.

The most remarkable tendency connected with the one just discussed is that of educated women to take themselves seriously and to apply their trained minds to the solution of the very domestic problems to which it was originally supposed the higher education would make them averse. This proposition is established by the annual reports of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. These reports show that Collegiate Alumnae are engaged in studying the sanitary conditions of public schools in different parts of the country and in securing sanitary reforms in the schools; that the Association has a committee on the study of the development of the child, and is trying to work up an interest among undergraduates with the hope of being able to define a special line of study and research in child psychology that will lead up to the Doctor's degree.

The most important tendency is that toward individual work which culminates in original research and consequent professional advanced scholarship. The degree to which the public mind is becoming imbued with the necessity for such independent high scholarship may be measured approximately by the number of scholarships and fellowships established for American students, both at home and abroad, during the last decade. Advanced study, original research, the real mastery of a specialty, and high scholarship, have been made possible to American women only within very recent years. The number and the character of the women who are availing themselves of these opportunities show that aptitude for real scholarship is not lacking among women.

This departure in modern education is, however, only just begun. It is only within the last thirty years that any opportunities for higher education have been available to women in this country. At the present time, therefore, the women who first bore college degrees are still

on the youthful side of middle life, and it is only within the last decade that the battle for the higher education of women may be considered won. Our State universities are the most democratic of all the institutions of higher learning, and it is due to this fact, as well as to a sense of justice to the taxpayers, already mentioned, that they were opened to women. But even these potent reasons did not succeed in securing the admission of women until 1860. The one exception is found in Utah, whose State university, founded in 1850, was coeducational from the beginning. The following table¹ will be read with interest as illustrating the attitude of the State universities toward women.

Opened.		Admitted Women.	Opened.		Admitted Women.
Ohio { Athens ..	1809.....	1871	Minnesota	1869.....	1860
{ Columbus	1873.....	1873	Oregon	1876.....	1876
Indiana	1824.....	1867	Kansas	1866.....	1866
Illinois	1868.....	1871	Nevada	1874.....	1874
Missouri	1843.....	1870	Nebraska	1871.....	1871
Michigan	1841.....	1870	Colorado	1877.....	1877
Iowa	1860.....	1860	N. Dakota	1884.....	1884
Wisconsin	1849 {	1860 to 1863	S. Dakota	1885.....	1885
		1868 to 1871	Montana	1883.....	1883
		1875 continuously	Washington	1862.....	1862
California	1869.....	1870	Utah	1850.....	1850

A glance at this table will show that but one of the State universities opened prior to 1861 has been from the start coeducational, but that all opened prior to that date became coeducational between 1861 and 1871; and that all organized since 1871 started as coeducational institutions; a statistical illustration of the advance of public sentiment on this question.

The higher education of women in the West is identified with coeducation. Of the total two hundred and twelve higher institutions west of the Alleghanies which receive women, one hundred and sixty-five are coeducational. Of the remaining forty-seven but thirty are authorized by charter to grant degrees. Of these thirty but seven are non-denominational. The remainder are distributed among denominations as follows: Presbyterian, seven; Methodist-Episcopal, five; Baptist, three; Christian, two; Protestant-Episcopal, one; Congregational, one; not ascertained, four. In an article of this character it would be unjust to withhold the fact that the colleges under Methodist control have been generally first and most generous in opening their opportunities to women, and that they are also conspicuous among the colleges that include women in their faculties and boards of trustees.

In Ohio, the oldest of the Western States, the higher education of women was first conceded. It is almost universally asserted that "Oberlin was founded to give women the same educational advantages

¹ Taken from the writer's chapter on "Higher Education of Women in the West," in a volume entitled "Woman's Work in America," published by Henry Holt & Co.

enjoyed by men," but a study of the history of this institution will not sustain that statement. Such a study will show that such collegiate coeducation as Oberlin now offers has been developed gradually, and that it differs in many essential respects from that to be found to-day in our State universities. Antioch College, opened at Yellow Springs, Ohio, in 1853, was from the first avowedly coeducational, and women were not only received as students, but also from the beginning included in the faculty.

Many colleges in the West had, at the start, a "female course," in which music was substituted for mathematics, French for Greek, etc., but in a little while such a course was repudiated by the women, who proved their capability to take the same course as the men.

The "normal class" was another of the steps toward coeducation. In the middle of this century it was not uncommon to hold special short terms of instruction for teachers during vacations; and to secure the advantages of good lecture rooms and appliances, and also the aid of distinguished professors, permission would be obtained to hold these normal classes in the State university or in college buildings elsewhere. Women entered and sometimes exclusively composed these "normal classes." Such classes being over, the women students would desire to attend the lectures which were delivered by the same professors to the men students in the regular college work. Thus gradually women were admitted to one privilege after another, until at last the college awakened to the consciousness that it had no reserves.

The opinion began to prevail that the women teachers who are to prepare the boys for the university ought to know, by their own experience in it as students, what the requirements of the university are. In early years, when a denominational college for men was formed, a "Female Seminary" was frequently established in the vicinity. Usually poorly equipped in books and appliances, the students of such a seminary were permitted occasionally to use the library and laboratory of the men's college, to witness experiments by the professors, and also to attend the popular lecture courses. Finally the two institutions would be merged into one.

The cry for the "practical" in modern education has aided also in bringing about coeducation. One opinion in which all men agree is that women should be useful; and in connection with education the average man thinks that "scientific" is a synonym for "practical." The conviction that a "scientific, practical" course of study will enlarge her capability for usefulness has secured the entrance of many a woman to a college where such courses of study are offered, when she would not have been permitted to go where only the inflexible courses of classics and mathematics were taught.

The elective system also has silenced a host of objectors to coeducation. All of that class who entertain vague notions that women are intuitional creatures, that their perceptions are quicker but their reflective powers less developed than those of men, and who hold the consequent conviction that women cannot so well conform to prescribed lines of study, are reconciled to coeducation by the elective system.

Until recently the popular view might be expressed as follows: "Women may do the highest work if they can make themselves ready for it, but we will do nothing to help them prepare;" therefore it is only in recent years that private secondary schools where a sound, thorough preparation for college could be obtained by girls have existed. Such schools now are winning popular favor and support, and doubtless in time will displace the foolish institutions called "finishing schools," where formerly the daughters of our well-to-do people were sent for a superficial instruction.

No doubt the strongest argument for opening the universities to women is found in the fact that women in such large numbers are teachers in the public schools, even in the high schools. President Eliot, of Harvard, and other leading educators have convinced us that our youths at eighteen are only as far advanced as European boys at fifteen. This mortifying fact cannot be attributed to American stupidity, for it is well known that Americans are not stupid; but it may be explained by the fact that our teachers often have but a very limited education. If we would have our children well and early prepared for college, they must be instructed by teachers of sound attainments and disciplined minds; and as a majority of teachers in the United States are women, this means that to women the university must be opened.

This article does not afford space to take up and discuss in detail the arguments against coeducation. The best answer to all objections is found in the results of the experiments which have been made and closely observed during the past quarter of a century. President Angell, of the University of Michigan, says:

Women were admitted here under the pressure of public sentiment, against the wishes of most of the professors; but I think no professor now regrets it, or would favor their exclusion. We made no solitary modification of our rules or requirements. The women did not become hoydenish; they did not fail in their studies; they did not break down in health; they have been graduated in all departments; they have not been inferior in scholarship to the men; the careers of our women graduates have been, on the whole, very satisfactory.

Andrew D. White, while president of Cornell University, said:

My own opinion is that all the good results we anticipated, and some we did not anticipate, have followed the admission of women; on the other hand, not one of the prophesied evils. I do not hesitate to say that I believe their presence here good for us in every respect.

The learned Bascom, while president of the University of Wisconsin, said :

Coeducation is with us wholly successful. There is no difference of opinion concerning it, either in our faculty or in our board. It does not seem to us to be any longer an open question. The advantages of the system are manifold; the evils are none.

The president of Northwestern University testified :

The effect of coeducation in this institution, upon the manners and morals of both men and women, is only good. The history of coeducation shows that men and women trained under its influence are less open to the temptations of the passions than are those trained in separate schools.

President Harper, of Chicago University, who, before the opening of that institution, was reputed an opponent of coeducation, now expresses himself like an ardent advocate of it.

President Jordan, a graduate of Cornell, at one time president of the Indiana State University, and now president of Leland Stanford Jr. University, after a long experience in three coeducational institutions, is a thorough believer in the system.

Letters from over two hundred of the presidents and professors in coeducational colleges give unvarying testimony of the same nature as that quoted above, and it must be accepted as conclusive evidence of the value and success of the system of coeducation. As one of its most important results we find that the intellectual association of men and women begun at college continues after leaving it, and modifies the social life of every circle into which graduates of coeducational colleges enter. Literary clubs, associations for the promotion of art and science, committees engaged in philanthropy, etc., are composed of men and women, and the offices in such organizations are distributed between the two sexes. Men who have studied with women in college, almost invariably favor their admission to county and State medical, legal, and editorial associations, and to the various positions in business and professional life. The growth of this cordial recognition of equality has not, as it was feared would be the case, been accompanied by the decadence of man's reverence for womanhood and woman's admiration for manliness. Both these sentiments apparently survive intellectual acquaintance, competition, and partnership.

Coeducation must recede or go forward, and the system cannot be regarded as permanently established until we have not only coeducation but co-instruction. The almost universal absence of women from college faculties is a grave defect in our coeducational institutions; and, negatively at least, their absence has as injurious an influence upon young men as upon young women. Women in the faculty, women on the board of visitors and board of trustees, holding these positions not because of

their family connections, not because they are the wives or daughters or sisters of the men in the faculty and on the boards, but because of their individual abilities, are the great present need of higher coeducational institutions. Only the presence of women in such official places can relieve young men who are students in the institutions from an arrogant sense of superiority arising from their sex, and the young women from a corresponding sense of subordination due to *their* sex.

The great modern universities of Stanford and of Chicago offer a new type, making absolutely no distinction between the opportunities offered to men and to women. As women entered both institutions at the beginning, men can have no sense of priority or previous ownership, and the term "co-ed," which college boys are so fond of applying to college girls, may with equal propriety be applied by the latter to the boys. In both institutions women have a place in the faculty, and enjoy the same advantages of fellowships. The latter especially are an evidence of the recognition of the right of women to the really higher education.

Most colleges assume that book education and education under professors cease at maturity. Chicago and Stanford universities assume that even mature men and women may feel the necessity for studying under guidance, and both extend a welcome to old as well as to young, and large numbers of the students registered in both institutions are past early youth. This continued education of older men and women was foreshadowed in the university-extension movement, but the two great universities named, so widely different in organization and administration, have made it possible for mature people to avail themselves of formal teaching without comment from others or embarrassment to themselves.

In spite of this flattering presentation of the origin and progress of coeducation, it is undeniable that a reaction against the system has set in. This reaction in the university itself may be due partly to the fact that the faculties of modern colleges are being made up largely of young men of whom it is required that they shall have studied abroad. Usually they study in France or Germany. In the years thus devoted to foreign study and to obtaining their doctorates, the young professors are apt to imbibe the prejudice which exists in those countries, especially in Germany, against coeducation. This prejudice they bring back to America and carry with them into our coeducational institutions. Contemporary writers on pedagogy, more than their predecessors, emphasize the need of recognizing the sex of the pupil, and most thoughtful people now agree that sex is as characteristic of mind as of body. There be those who, believing that sex enters into mind, assume that therefore there must be feminine studies for feminine minds. It would be just as logical to provide feminine foods for fem-

inine bodies ; but it is universally admitted that milk is good for babes of both sexes, and meat for the mature of both. We trust to the different natures to provide for themselves by their assimilations. Each will assimilate according to its own kind. On the same food girls will become plump and rounded, boys lean and sinewy, because such is the nature of each. The same principle applies to the curriculum for the mind as to the table of foods for the body. The mental nature may be depended upon to select and to assimilate from common food the elements demanded by its needs, including the needs of its sex, with as much accuracy as does the physical nature.

Coeducation has tested the ability of girls to pursue the curriculum formulated for boys, and their possession of such ability has been proven. The approved curriculum, however, is not inseparable from coeducation ; as boys had followed it before coeducation was tried, so girls may enjoy it after coeducation shall have been abandoned.

This increasing study of sex as a factor to be reckoned with in the development of our educational system undoubtedly will result in a return to the separate schools for boys and girls, between the time at which children leave the primary schools, at ten years of age, and the time at which they enter the university, at twenty or twenty-one years of age ; and during the period spent in what are popularly called the grammar grades of the elementary schools, in secondary schools and colleges, girls and boys will be educated separately.

Thus coeducation will be limited to the early period of life, before sex consciously asserts itself, and to the period of disciplined adulthood, when sex may be controlled consciously by the judgment and the will.

In many of the best public grammar and high schools of the country the separate system has been adhered to always ; undoubtedly it would have been maintained everywhere but for the additional cost of supporting separate schools for boys and girls ; for during the past half-century, characterized by the organization of public high schools, the same economical reasons have existed for coeducation in such schools as existed for coeducation in the colleges when the demand for the collegiate education of women was first made.

As the wealth of the country increases, and the habit of public expenditure for educational purposes becomes confirmed, the economical reasons urged for coeducation during adolescence will cease.

One great gain thus far secured by coeducation is the popular consciousness of the native intellectual equality of the sexes, a consciousness that could scarcely have been developed within the same period under the separate system of education.

At present, however, the economic conditions of our country, the recognition of the relation between popular education and popular

prosperity, and the attainment of the recognition of the rights of girls to share all opportunities of education, render it possible for students of psychology, for practical observers of our social life, and for teachers to unite in a careful and unprejudiced study of the dangers and the defects of the coeducational system between kindergarten and university. It is quite safe to say that the coeducational grammar or high school five years old that has not had its tragedy is rare. That coeducation during adolescence exposes both boys and girls to premature emotional development and to a series of emotional experiences which, when not resulting tragically, diminish emotional power and impair the purity and the ardor of the affections in maturity, cannot be doubted.

Two other relatively new and rapidly growing demands upon the school, namely, for physical culture and for manual training, are also arguments for separate education; since differences in physique and differences in industrial and economical demands will compel a differentiation of methods in these departments of instruction.

People are beginning to realize that logic, philosophy, mathematics, and the ancient classics do not change the sex of the mind which is fed by them. The study, the contemplation, the knowledge of these subjects do not make women masculine, but do render them keen-sighted, open-minded, and rational; and it may be demonstrated that the feminine side of life needs the application of these qualities for its best development quite as much as does the masculine side.

Nothing is more evident than the continued need of the study of logic in institutions for men only, since fair-mindedness and the rational habit are supposed to be fruits of logic. It is always charged against women that they are ruled by sentiment. So far, however, all history affords no example of large numbers of women acting in an organized body so manifestly governed by sentiment as are the Boards of Overseers of Oxford and Cambridge Universities in England, and of our own Harvard University. It is sentiment and not logic that makes majorities of these boards vote to give to women who have taken advantage of the opportunities for study grudgingly granted at these institutions, certificates equivalent to the A. B. degree, instead of the A. B. degree itself. When logic shall bear its perfect fruits, the sex of the student will not be considered in granting the official statement of work done by her.

If one would realize the degree to which women are penetrating the realm of the higher scholarship, one could not do better than read the reports of two committees of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, namely, that of the Committee on Educational Progress, and that of the Committee on Fellowships.

THE SCRIPTURE-ERRANCY CONFLICT.

BY BENJAMIN F. BURNHAM.

AFTER Ezra Cornell had been grievously assailed for not giving the presidency of his university to some clergyman, rather than to a "mere layman," its president, Dr. Andrew D. White, delivered in Cooper Institute, New York, a lecture on "The Battlefields of Science," wherein he maintained this thesis:

In all modern history, interference with science in the supposed interest of religion, no matter how conscientious such interference may have been, has resulted in the direst evils both to religion and to science, and invariably; and, on the other hand, all untrammelled investigation, no matter how dangerous to religion some of its stages may have seemed for the time to be, has invariably resulted in the highest good both of religion and of science.

Thereupon the religious press furiously attacked his position. But his thesis was approved by Dr. Woolsey, President of Yale, and by all the leading "square" scholars. The lecture was amplified into a little book entitled "The Warfare of Science." New chapters were brought out in the *Popular Science Monthly*, and the whole is now published in two volumes entitled "History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom."

The twentieth and concluding chapter is entitled "From the Divine Oracles to the Higher Criticism." A rapid review thereof, together with a few supplementary reflections upon this and cognate or corollary points, is our present concern.

Sacred literature is developed under certain general laws. First of all, the mind of man in every civilization shapes his sacred books out of myth and legend; and the fittest survive.

The second law (named by Comte "the Law of Wills and Causes") is the tendency of man to attribute to the Supreme Being a physical, intellectual, and moral structure like his own. Hence it is that "the votary of each of the great world religions ascribes to its sacred books what he considers absolute perfection: he imagines them to be what he himself would give to the world, were he himself infinitely good, wise, and powerful."

The third law is, that when the sacred books are once selected and grouped they come to be regarded as a final creation from which nothing can be taken away, and of which even error in form, if sanctioned by tradition, may not be changed. Thus, when a few years ago a

group of scholars — ministers and laymen of churches widely differing in belief — met in Westminster Abbey, and carefully revised the English version of the Bible, scrupulously preserving the old matter, their work was no sooner done than it was bitterly attacked, and to this day is by many people viewed with dislike; they prefer the old version, notwithstanding its glaring misconceptions, misinterpretations, and mis-translations.

A fourth law is, that when once a group of sacred books has been evolved, though really a library of dissimilar works, they come to be thought "one inseparable mass of interpenetrating parts; every statement in each fitting exactly and miraculously into each statement in every other; and each and every one and altogether, literally true in fact, and at the same time full of hidden meanings." Thus the Jewish rabbis once declared that each passage in the law of Moses had seventy distinct meanings, and that God himself gave three hours every day to their study.

A fifth law is, that "when literal interpretation clashes with increasing knowledge, or with progress in moral feeling, theologians take refuge in mystic meanings." Thus allegory was resorted to in evading the atrocities of Brahma, the infamous adventures of Jupiter, and the trickery, cruelty, and injustice of Jahveh. Even Mr. Gladstone is said to have fancied that Neptune's trident had a mysterious connection with the doctrine of the Trinity!

The modern method of criticism of the Bible by comparison of manuscripts is said to have been initiated in the fifteenth century by Lorenzo Valla, who proved certain apocryphal writings to be forgeries, and who showed that the "Apostles' Creed" post-dated the Apostles by several centuries. In the twelfth century, Aben Ezra (not relishing risk of martyrdom) had advanced, merely as a sort of enigma suggested by a Jewish rabbi of the preceding generation, a query as to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, a thing clearly disproved by the books themselves. In 1670, Spinoza demonstrated that all the five books were full of glosses and revisions made long after the time of Moses. In 1678, Richard Simon, in his "Critical History of the Old Testament," showed from internal evidence that the Pentateuch and other of the books had been compiled from older sources, and that Hebrew was not the primitive language of mankind. Bishop Bossuet denounced Simon's work as "a bulwark of irreligion," and unsuccessfully ordered the whole edition to be burned. Soon afterward Jean Leclerc, a Swiss refugee at Amsterdam, similarly showed that in the plural form of the word used in Genesis for God, "Elohim," there is a trace of the Chaldean polytheism. In 1755, Jean Astruc published his work showing that two main narratives enter into the composition

of Genesis, one using the word "Elohim," the other, "Jahveh" for Jehovah.

Early in the sixteenth century Erasmus proved that the seventh verse in the fifth chapter of the first epistle of John was an interpolation. But although Sir Isaac Newton and the nineteenth-century revisers also rejected this passage as to the "three witnesses," the Anglican Church still retains it in its Lectionary, and the Scotch Church in the Westminster Confession, as a main support of the dogma of the Trinity. Luther, in averring justification by faith and not by good works, rejected the epistle of James as a "book of straw;" and he would not concede that Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews.

In the eighteenth century, John Gottfried Herder wrote his "Spirit of Hebrew Poetry," proving the Psalms to be by different authors and of different periods, and Solomon's Song to be simply an oriental love poem, not an allegory of Christ's love for the Church, or a recondite representation of the love of Jehovah for Israel. In 1806, DeWette published his "Introduction to the Old Testament," showing that Deuteronomy is a late priestly summary of the law, and that Chronicles is a very late priestly recast of early history. In 1853, Hermann Hupfeld published his treatise establishing that three documents are combined in Genesis. In 1839, Abraham Kuenen published his "Religion of Israel," proving that the Levitical law had been established not at the beginning, but at the end of the existence of the Jewish nation, when heroes and prophets had been succeeded by priests; and that the Old Testament history is largely mingled with myth and legend. In 1878, Julius Wellhausen published his "History of Israel," showing it to be "an evolution obedient to the laws at work in all ages," and Jewish literature to be "a growth out of individual, tribal, and national life."

In 1860, there appeared in England a volume entitled "Essays and Reviews," by six different authors, all insisting that the Scriptures are to be interpreted like any other book. The principal one, entitled "The Education of the World," is by Frederick Temple, who was head master at Rugby, and who in 1885 became Bishop of London, and has lately been made Archbishop of Canterbury. In his reply to the protest of Bishop Tait (afterward Archbishop of Canterbury), he asked: "What can be a grosser superstition than the theory of literal inspiration?" Two of the essayists were prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, and appealed to the Privy Council. Lord Chancellor Westbury's decision avoided pronouncing any opinion of the book as a whole, but, as to Essayist Wilson's denial of the dogma of eternal punishment, stated that "the court does not find in the formularies of the English Church any such distinct declaration upon the subject as to

require it to punish the expression of a hope by a clergyman that even the ultimate pardon of the wicked who are condemned in the day of judgment may be consistent with the will of Almighty God." Thereupon a humorist proposed for Westbury an epitaph, recounting, among other good deeds, that he "dismissed Hell with costs, and took away from orthodox members of the Church of England their last hope of eternal damnation."

This reminds a Bostonian that the pulpits which only half a century ago denounced Hosea Ballou's restoration dogma, now boldly declare that neither hell nor heaven is a locality, but simply a condition of the human soul; also of Starr King's answer to the question: "What is the difference between a Universalist and a Unitarian?" namely, "A Universalist believes that God is too good to damn him; a Unitarian believes himself to be too good to be damned!"

In 1862, John William Colenso, Anglican Bishop of Natal, published his "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined," wherein he pointed out that an army of 600,000 could not have been mobilized in a single night; that 3,000,000 people with their flocks and herds could not have obtained food and drink on so small and arid a desert as that over which they were said to have wandered during forty years; and that the butchery of 200,000 Midianites by 12,000 Israelites, exceeding infinitely in atrocity the tragedy at Cawnpore, had happily been carried out only on paper. He had found the Zulus whom he sought to convert suspicious of the legendary features of the Old Testament, and when his catechumens questioned him back, he answered them honestly. As to one of the points upon which he was anathematized by his ecclesiastical superiors, Prof. Hitzig of Leipzig remarked: "Your bishops are making themselves the laughing-stock of Europe. Every Hebraist knows that the animal mentioned in Leviticus is really the hare; and every zoölogist knows that it does not chew the cud." Colenso appealed to the Privy Council, and his excommunication was declared to be null and void. Three of the wisest and best men in England — Bishops Wilberforce and Thirlwall and Dean Stanley — championed Colenso. Phillips Brooks once gave a vivid description of the scene witnessed by him in the Convocation of Canterbury when Stanley virtually withstood alone the obstinate traditionalism of the whole body in the matter of the Athanasian Creed.

In 1875, George Smith, the great Assyriologist, published his "The Chaldean Account of Genesis." Finally, the higher criticism so prevailed that when in 1889 there appeared the book of essays entitled "Lux Mundi," sustaining the new view, Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, asked the famous question: "May not the Holy Spirit make use of myth and legend?" The method also extended among rational

clergymen and scholars in other churches through the writings of Samuel Davidson, John Pye Smith, Robertson Smith, Prof. Sayce, and others in England, and of Theodore Parker, Prof. Egbert Smyth, Charles A. Briggs, and others in America. In a little book on "Assyriology," Prof. Francis Brown related that a thousand years before Moses, an Accadian babe named Sargon was placed in a basket of bulrushes by its mother, was found by a stranger, and was so well brought up that he became a king.

In closing Dr. White's great work, the reader cannot but admire, at every step of the history, his clearness, his dispassionate judicial candor, and his indefatigable research — not merely throughout libraries at home, but also among alcoves abroad — in many a nook and book rarely disturbed by any bookworm. One is also struck with his habitual dignity, notwithstanding the comical phases of the absurd sayings and doings of arrogant theological (im)potentates.

Upon certain features of the scripture-errancy conflict — features perhaps less noteworthy by the present knowing generation, and consequently less delineated by Dr. White — we may turn for further study to one or two books whose author has not been so apt to conceal the humorous emotions inspired by the comical aspects, namely, to "Leading in Law and Curious in Court"¹ and to "The Life of Lives," with its supplementary brochure, "Elsmere Elsewhere."²

This writer informs us³ that Joseph Cook, upon being interrogated at one of his "Monday Lectures" as to the dates, genuineness, and methods of composition of the four Gospels, held up to his audience a translation of Bernhard Weiss's "Lehrbuch," etc., as voicing the present most advanced Evangelical thought thereon. Weiss tells us that they were based on oral traditions; that about 67 A. D., Matthew wrote in Aramaic (the dialect Jesus conversed in) a collection of the sayings of Jesus (the "Logia" which Eusebius says Papias mentioned), and that after the destruction of Jerusalem some unknown redactor compiled the body of our Greek Matthew Gospel by combining Matthew's "Logia" with portions of Mark's Gospel and some new material from oral tradition. Also that the principal source of Mark's Gospel was his reminiscences of Peter's preaching.⁴

Probably the genealogy of Jesus and the Bethlehem legend of his

¹ Published by Banks and Brothers, New York and Albany, 1896. See its chapter on "Ecclesiastical Cases."

² Published by Wm. Macdonald & Co.; successors, Smith & McCance, Boston, 1896.

³ "Elsmere Elsewhere," p. 11.

⁴ More fully, see Dr. E. A. Abbott's article "Gospels" in "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth ed. vol. x.

nativity were prefixed by some later editor.¹ His error (Matt. i. 8) in putting only fourteen generations between David and the Captivity, when copying from the Septuagint II Kings xii or II Chron. xxiv (omitting Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah), was caused by the resemblance between the Greek "Ahaziah" and "Ozias." This mistake is reported to have been incidentally conceded by members of certain synods at Cincinnati and Toronto, in trying cases against theological seminary professors. A New York synod is said to have conceded that—the gospel rule of loving one's enemies being correct—errancy is predicable of the imprecatory Psalms, *e. g.*, Ps. cix, 10, "Let his children be continually vagabonds and beg."

Since the abolition of the old New England "Fast day" in Massachusetts, leading evangelical clergymen in the land of the Puritans preach that (notwithstanding alleged words of Christ advocating an objective benefit of prayer) supplication is merely a vehicle for aspiration,² and condemn the practice of certain "evangelists"³ in reading written requests from strangers to pray for specified personal objects, this being deemed tantamount to asking God to act not by law, but by caprice. The ground for this recent rapid change of public sentiment—this conviction that the benefit of prayer is wholly subjective—is obvious to every willing observer. The prayers for President Garfield's recovery were not enlightened by any X rays on the direction Guiteau's bullet had ploughed his vitals. Like the child whose thought is the offspring of the wish that a Santa Claus, though two feet in diameter, shall descend a ten-inch chimney flue, some grown-up Christians would often seem to expect God to gratify caprices as inconsistent as a whim to have two mountains created with no valley between. In some prayer meetings a candid listener would be reminded of the comment of the observer in Mark Twain's "Innocents Abroad," upon the passengers' prayers for winds to favor the steamship, regardless of the interests of the Christians on board the estimated fourteen sailing vessels they would be meeting in that commercial belt of the ocean.

A French commentator⁴ has remarked :

Under the régime of Aristotle, as under that of the Bible, people were permitted to think as freely as they are nowadays, but on the condition of proving that such and such a thought was really in Aristotle or in the Bible, which, after all, was not very difficult. The Talmud, the Masora, the Cabala are curious proofs of the capability of the human intellect when fettered to a text. One begins to count its letters, its words,

¹ See first edition of Johnson's "Universal Cyclopædia."

² See "Elsmere Elsewhere," p. 74, as to Priestley's reply to Thomas Paine, that "petition may be an unnecessary part of prayer."

³ See "The Life of Lives," p. 203.

⁴ Renan. See "Fu. Science," p. 50.

its syllables; the material sound gets to count for more than the sense; one goes on multiplying the exegetical subtleties, the modes of interpretation, like the starving wretch who, after having devoured his hunk of bread, carefully collects the crumbs thereof. All the commentaries on sacred writings are like one another, from those of Manu to those of the Bible, from those of the Bible to those of the Koran. All are a protest of the human intellect against the enslaving tendency of literal interpretation; a miserable attempt to fertilize a barren field. When the mind does not find an object commensurate with its activity, it is fain to create one by a thousand tricks.

The theologian, then, — whether counting himself of the Christian or of some other system, — while insisting on the stereotyped, non-amendable form and substance of a sacred writing, must not be surprised to find himself disrespected by the philosopher, who, on discovering any assertion of fact to be erroneous or any expression of truth defective, does not hesitate to resort to something more adequate. Facts are stubborn things; the existence of "barren fields" *passim* cannot be gainsaid. But the sacred books of all the great religions abound in fields fertile — unfathomed riches of more kinds than one, and nowhere else to be found. And no real philosopher could

— on this fair mountain leave to feed,
And batten on this moor.

Homer, the Bible, and the Vedas will forever be the sacred books of humanity. As has been well remarked:

The mythologies are grandiose, divine poems, in which the primeval nations have poured out their dreams with regard to the supra-sensitive world. They are, in a certain sense, more valuable than history, for in history there is a necessary and fortuitous part which is not the work of humanity; while in the fables everything is its own; it is its portrait painted by its own hand.¹

Thus religion is the best means of understanding humanity, just as a Gothic cathedral is the best piece of evidence of the middle ages, because the generations have dwelt there in the spirit. Even if the roof lets in the light of heaven, and the torrents from the sky drench the upturned face of the believer on his knees, science would wish to study those ruins, to describe all the statuettes that adorn them, to lift the stained window panes which only admit a mysterious semi-glow, in order to introduce the radiant sun, and to study at leisure those admirable petrifications of human thought.

Upon this view of the Bible, liberalized Christians have now no quarrel with the scientist. To the advanced critic religions are the philosophies of the spontaneous — philosophies amalgamated with het-

¹ "The general thread of the life which man pursues is woven with twenty united threads which cannot be isolated but by tearing them down. The links of love, of family, of right, of art, of industry, are incessantly mingled with that of religion. Moral activity includes religion, but is not included in it. Religion is a cause, but it is much more an effect. . . . When faith creates the heart, it is because the heart has already created faith. . . . Come, girls and boys, take boldly the Bibles of light. Everything is there wholesome and very pure. The purest of those Bibles, the Avesta, is a ray of sunshine. Homer, Æschylus, together with the great heroic myths, are full of young life — the vigorous sun of March, the effulgent azure of April. The dawn is in the Vedas." — Michelet, in the preface to his "The Bible of Humanity," Calfa's translation; Bouton, N. Y., 1877.

erogeneous elements, like food that is not solely made up of nutritious parts. Exclusively scientific formulas would afford but a dry food; with every great philosophical thought there is mixed up a little mysticism — that is, a compound of individual phantasy and religion. Hence, as has been profoundly remarked, "Religions and languages should be the first study of the psychologist. For humanity is more easily recognized in its products than in its abstract essence, and in its spontaneous products than in its premeditated ones."

Plentiful are apt illustrations hereof. Tacitus, whatever be his talents for painting human nature, contains less psychology than does the artless and credulous narrative of the Evangelists. His narrative is objective, presenting things and their causes as they really were; theirs is subjective—the views they conceived of things, the manner in which they appreciated them. To adduce a more familiar illustration: if you had had a certain adventure, you would relate it thus: "One evening, in passing by a churchyard, I was pursued by a will-o'-the-wisp." A peasant woman, who happens to have lost her brother a few days before, and to whom a similar adventure had occurred, would express herself as follows: "While I was passing by the churchyard at night, I was pursued by the soul of my brother." Both accounts are veracious; but one is simple, the other complex, mingling with the averment of the fact a judgment of cause.

Now, criticism consists in recovering as far as possible the real color of facts from the colors as refracted through the prism of the nationality or individuality of the narrators. The primitive age was religious, not scientific; the later age is at once religious and scientific. And there yet will be once more "an Orpheus and a Trismegistos, not to sing to peoples in a state of childhood their fanciful dreams, but to teach a humanity grown wise the marvels of reality."

A rural New-England maiden, in the "Bible class" of the Methodist Sunday school of her native village, stood *facile princeps* in disoculting the "hard passages." But on one occasion, getting beyond her depth, and in her floundering vainly clutching at Bishop V——'s exposition, she quietly launched out for aid from her old family physician, one very like his prototype in Dr. Holmes's story, "Elsie Venner." He squarely told her that not only the good bishop but also the writer of the passage and the translator were *quasi* mistaken.

"The original historic fact may have been a gem, but the light from its facets has been slightly colored by redactor, translator, and commentator."

Soon after, on the eve of her departure for a Chautauqua course, she was bidding the old doctor adieu. Half playfully, but not without slight emotion, he said:

"I've known you almost from before your infancy ; so you'll pardon my momentarily assuming Polonius and perhaps also Kingsley.

'There ; my blessing with thee !
And these few precepts in thy memory
See thou character.'

'Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever.'

Be good, even if to be good you have to be pious. But don't let your softness of heart take to your head. Aim higher than too low ; attain a good top. Aim lower than too high ; keep good fundamentally ; keep *sana mens in corpore sano*. Aim straight, and not one-sided. Don't try to lift anything that's too heavy ; Milo couldn't carry the ox until he had tried the calf and the steer. You never could have extracted the cube root until you had studied simple addition and subtraction. And in matters not purely scientific, study human nature first of all. As Solon said, 'Gnothi seauton !' — 'Know thyself ;' then note the make and motives of others. And having discerned the teacher or the writer, you can sample the product ; for the fruit is guessed by the tree — unless there has been considerable grafting. You are going to mingle with ambitious, positive preachers and authors. You'll find them to be clever in both the Yankee and the English sense of the word. 'Salute' Bishop V——, and as to 'Pansy,'¹ 'greet ye one another with a kiss of charity.' Grace (and mental symmetry) be with you. Amen !"

On her return, she met the doctor with an archly grateful expression, and quietly remarked :

"I have made the personal acquaintance of Bishop V—— and of 'Pansy,' amiable and well-meaning souls both. I have read Pansy's 'The Prince of Peace, or the Beautiful Life of Jesus.' Now I understand somewhat of anthropomorphic and Evangelistic redaction."

"Religions, so profoundly studied at present, have been subordinated to the *genius* that made them, to the soul which created them, and to the moral condition of which they are the fruit. We must first locate the race with its proper aptitudes, its surroundings, and its natural inclinations ; then we may study it in the fabrication of its gods, who in their turn influence the race. This is the natural course. These gods are *effects* and *causes*. But it is essential to first prove that they are effects, the offspring of the human soul ; if on the other hand we admit that they came down from heaven, and suffer them to dominate over us, they oppress, absorb, and darken history."²

¹ Isabella M. Alden.

² Michelet, "Bible of Humanity," Calfa's translation, p. 39 (note), at text, "the heart makes faith." — after referring to the exquisite outburst of Valmiki (in the beginning of the "Ramayana") against the hunter that killed the heron "in the sacred moment, . . . It is because this race, of acute

Those who assert that Masonic Knight Commanderles "neglect Bib's religion" would better read a preceding passage: "In Rama are reunited the twofold ideals of the two great castes. On one side he attains the highest point of Brahmanic virtue, and on the other he adds to it the highest devotion of the warrior, who, for the sake of others, hazards not only himself, but sometimes those whom he loves more than himself. In the defence of the frail, of solitary anchorites, who are troubled by wicked spirits, he sacrifices more than his life — his love, his charming, faithful, and devoted wife, Sita. The complete man, this Brahman warrior, is then still nearer to God than is the Brahman who simply prays, but does not make any personal sacrifice. Rama follows the exact ideal of the Khatrya, the high ideal of the chivalry, to win and to pardon — to wait until the wounded enemy recovers — to give and never to receive."¹

Ah, the Chautauqua, the Epworth, the Christian Endeavor assemblies! Blessings on ye so long as here may the anchorite and anchoress commune with the cenobite, — the hermit sage with the fraternal devotee, — and sociality, free thought, science, and religion walk onward hand in hand! The more ye multiply, the faster will the dogma of literal inspiration and scripture-inerrancy become a mere matter of theological chronicle.

sensibility and penetration, feels and loves the soul even in the forms of the inferior, in the feeble and simple, that it has created the doctrine of transmigration."

¹ "Bible of Humanity," p. 35.

THE PAST AND THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

BY D. W. CULP, A. M., M. D.

AT every crisis in the history of the negro, in the period intervening between 1700 and the present date, there has been some heroic, philanthropic, heaven-commissioned, and heaven-directed white man to champion his cause.

When, in 1700, the negro in Massachusetts was struggling to free himself from the cruelties of the Puritans, who were so called because of their pretended holiness, who had fled from their native land because of oppression, and who were earnestly endeavoring to throw off the British yoke, while they were forging chains for their own slaves, Judge Samuel Seward suddenly came forth, and with voice and pen labored to convince the cruel Puritans that the negro should not be rated with their horses and dogs, but should be put upon the common foot of humanity; that he should not be excluded from the Christian Church; that he should not be denied the right to marry; that he should not be ruthlessly torn from his family and sold to merciless taskmasters; that there is no proportion between silver and liberty; and that the negro, being a son of Adam, had an equal right unto liberty and all other outward comforts.

In 1829, when the nation was fast asleep and heard not the rumblings of the earthquake that threatened her destruction; when the state was morally paralyzed, the pulpit was dumb, and the Church heeded not the cry of the slave; when commerce, greedy of her gain, piled her hoards by the unpaid toil of the bondsman; when judgment was turned backward, and justice stood afar off, and truth was fallen in the street, and equity could not enter; when the hands of the people were defiled with blood and their fingers with iniquity, and their lips spoke lies, and their tongues uttered perverseness; when men talked of slavery with a moral blindness and perverseness like that of Sodom and Gomorrah; the uncompromising and inflexible Garrison appeared upon the stage to bombard the almost impregnable fortress of slavery and "to fight it to the death;" and with an indefatigableness and earnestness, of which those soul-stirring words, "I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard," give us but a faint conception, he labored with voice and pen to give immediate emancipation to the suffering negro.

When, in 1861, an abolitionist was needed in the presidential

chair to look after the interests of the negro, God put the immortal Lincoln in that chair, who, in 1863, proclaimed the emancipation of 4,000,000 oppressed slaves. It was Major Hunter, who, in 1862, when the negro wanted to go to the battlefield to fight for his own liberty, had the effrontery, in the face of the bitter opposition of the President and every other white man, to employ negroes as soldiers, and who in defence of his action had the courage to say to an indignant Congress that had condemned him, the following:

The experiment of arming the blacks, so far as I have made it, has been a complete and marvellous success. They are sober, docile, attentive, and enthusiastic, displaying great natural capacities for acquiring the duties of a soldier.

But for this championing of the negro's cause at this crisis, he might not have had the opportunity of fighting for his own liberty, and of demonstrating his capabilities as a soldier, by his heroism at Port Hudson, at Fort Wagner, at Milliken's Bend, at Wilson's Wharf, at Petersburg, at Deep Bottom, at Chappin's Farm, and at Hutchin's Run.

When, in 1866, a brave and able man was needed in our national Congress, to have a law enacted that would give the negro the same right as a white man to make and enforce contracts, to sue and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to have the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, and that would punish a white man who dared to interfere with the negro in the enjoyment of these civil rights, the matchless statesman and patriot, Charles Sumner, came forth with his Civil Rights bill.

When, in 1869, the hellish and fiendish Kuklux were perpetrating their cruel and dastardly outrages upon the defenceless and innocent negroes in the South, the fearless Grant showed for what purpose he was brought to the presidential chair in that year, when, disregarding the false doctrine of state rights, he suspended the right of *habeas corpus*, and thus put an end to the wholesale murdering of negroes.

When, in 1881, the negro needed some influential and scholarly Southern white man to take his part, and to interest the Southern white people in his elevation, the late Bishop Haygood, a Southern man to the manor born, and a Georgian at that, came forth with his "Our Brother in Black."

And now that some courageous, reputable, scholarly man is needed to advocate the emancipation of the negro from political and social thralldom, Prof. Willis Boughton unexpectedly sallies forth with his article on "The Negro's Place in History."¹ The courage that characterized and enabled the abovenamed men to champion the negro's cause in the face of an opposing and frowning world, was not a whit greater than that

which enabled Prof. Willis Boughton to put that article in *THE ARENA*. And I here wish to assure the Professor that, while he no doubt has incurred by that article the animosity of many a white man, he has won by it the high esteem and the profound gratitude of every intelligent negro of this country; and that like Seward, Garrison, Hunter, Lincoln, Sumner, Grant, Haygood, and others, he will ever be held in grateful remembrance by every such negro. It is obvious, therefore, that my attempt to animadvert upon or to review Prof. Boughton's article is not due to any lack of appreciation of the invaluable service which he has rendered to the race by that article, but is rather due to a desire to express some thoughts suggested to my mind by the article.

The first thought suggested is, that the white people of this country are woefully ignorant of the true intellectual status of the negro. The Southern people boast that they are thoroughly acquainted with the negro, but they are greatly mistaken; their knowledge in this direction does not extend beyond the ignorant negroes in their employ. They know absolutely nothing of the educated negroes of this country with whom they do not come in contact. Very few Southern white people know that we have such scholarly men as Greener, Crummell, Langston, Blyden, T. McCants Steward, Bishops Tanner and Lee, Bowens, Coppin, Reeves, F. J. Grimke, and Crogman, who do not suffer by comparison with the foremost scholars of the nation; that we have thousands of young men who graduated from first-class colleges; that we have not a few men who graduated from the same colleges from which the greatest men of the nation graduated; that we have women whose literary and musical attainments are equal to those possessed by the most cultured white women of this country; that we have over a hundred authors whose writings could not be differentiated from those of white authors by the most critical mind; that we have three hundred editors, who compare favorably with their white peers in journalism.

Nor do the Southern whites put themselves to much trouble to gain information concerning the intellectual status of the negro. They will not visit our schools and the other places where they could get some idea of the intellectuality of the negro. There are forty-four schools in this city (Jacksonville, Fla.) for the higher training of the negroes, and I venture the assertion, that there are not a half-dozen Southern white people in Jacksonville who have ever visited these schools. There is Atlanta, Ga., with her Atlanta and Clarke universities, her Morris Brown and her Spellman seminaries, and her Gammon School of Theology; and there is Nashville, Tenn., with her Fisk, Roger Williams, and Central Tennessee universities, with their hundreds of brainy students; and yet, excepting the few white men who have visited these schools as detectives to see whether the professors'

children attended them, not a dozen white persons in the two places have visited them. Nor will these people read negro literature, from which they could get an idea of what the negro is intellectually.

If the Southern white people would read negro literature, visit the negro schools, and encounter the negro educated men, they would have very different views respecting the negro's intellectual capacity, and they would have more respect for the race. I have observed that in all cases in which prejudiced Southern people have visited negro schools, read negro literature, and come in contact with learned negroes, they have had their views respecting the intellectuality of the negro greatly changed. Prof. Boggs, of the University of Georgia, is one of the few Southern men whose views respecting the intellectuality of the negro were greatly changed by visiting negro schools and coming in contact with educated negroes. The following is what he said the other day, in a speech to the legislators of Georgia:

I have seen negroes solve problems in quadratic equations, and I will wager my head against a turnip, that there are not six members of the general assembly who could solve those problems. I myself could not solve them.

The Professor uttered these words in proof of the fact that the negroes of Georgia are getting in the lead educationally. Now, what is true of the Southern people in this particular, is also true in a large measure of the Northern people, although they have superior opportunities of knowing more of the negro in this respect.

Prof. Boughton's article betrays his ignorance on this point, and it is plain that he has not put himself to much trouble to inform himself. Had he made as profound a research into the present history of the negro as he made into his ancient history, he would have known that, instead of the one successful negro physician in Nashville, there are nearly three hundred, who graduated from some of the best medical colleges in this country, and who show by their work at the bedside that they are the equals of their white brother practitioners. He certainly would have known that there are several competent negro dentists, instead of one; that one of the members of the faculty of the dental department of Harvard University is a negro; that Dubois is not the only negro who has won a prize in contests with white students; that not only was Biddle University built by a negro, but that, with few exceptions, all the houses in the South are the work of negro carpenters.

The ideas suggested by the part of Prof. Boughton's article touching the race problem, came in the form of the following questions: 1. Is it the divine purpose that the race problem shall be solved by amalgamation? 2. Would such a solution of the problem be desirable? 3. Can the problem not be solved in some other way than by fusion?

Taking these questions in their order, we have 1st. Is it the divine

purpose that the race problem shall be solved by amalgamation? If it is a fact (and there is no question as to that) that the distinct racial types are the result of a providential ordering, then that fact is so far forth a revelation of God's purpose as to the final disposition of the races. It does seem to me, if it was in the divine mind to make the whites and the blacks of this country one at some future day, that the Hamites and the Japhetites, in being dispersed from the land of Shinar, would not have been sent to the countries in which they were brought under the climatic and other influences that produced those marked and distinct physical changes in both, which, together with the other conditions that have supervened, render the fusion of the blacks and the whites of this country very difficult, if not impracticable. It is not God's method to render the problems which he proposes to solve by natural means difficult of solution by such means. Hence, inasmuch as the physical characteristics, the social conditions, and the racial instincts of the two races are such as to make intermarriage between them by natural means very difficult, it is fair to infer that it is not God's purpose to solve the problem in that way. If we reflect a little upon Jewish history, we shall find that, when the Jews were in Egypt, God used the physical and social differences between them and the Hamites, and the caste resulting therefrom, as means to prevent the Jews losing their identity in Egypt by amalgamation; otherwise, no doubt, the Jews would have been lost in Egypt, and God's plan respecting them would have been thus frustrated.

Prof. Boughton refers to the fusion of the Hellenes and the Hamites in Egypt, and to the absorption of the black element by the whites in Rome, as examples of the fusion of distinct races. But neither of these is an analogous case for the reason that the barriers to the fusion of these peoples were not so great as those to the fusion of the whites and the blacks of this country. The physical and the social differences between the whites and the blacks are greater than those that existed between the Hellenes and the Hamites of Egypt, and between the whites and the dark element of Rome. History does not record an instance in which two races, as dissimilar as the whites and the blacks of this country, have fused. Nor, in my opinion, will it ever be the task of any future historian to record such an instance. I verily believe that God has a distinct mission for each distinct race to fulfil, and that it is His wise purpose to keep the races separate that they may fulfil their respective missions. What the negro's mission is I do not know, but I am certain that it is not that of drawing water and hewing wood for the white man.

I cannot here refrain from mentioning the remarkable and melancholy fact, that only a few years ago many of the so-called Christian

white people of this country held (and their hypocritical ministers preached it from the pulpits) that God made and put the negro here to serve the white man. If it be thought that all of this class are dead, read the following extract :

The negro bears about him a birthright of inferiority that is as unalterable as eternity. He who, in the morning of creation, set the shifting sands as a barrier to the mad waves of the mighty deep and said thus far, has also set His seal upon the negro forevermore in his black skin, kinky hair, thick lips, flat nose, double layer of skull, different anatomy, as well as analogy from white men. His stupid intellect is fulfilled in that prophecy, uttered thousands of years ago, but no less true to-day, "A servant of servants shalt thou be."

This extract is from "The Compendium of Facts of the Plant System of Railways and Steamship Lines," written by Judge Tillman, of Quitman, Georgia, a pamphlet sent broadcast through the land by the railroad officials, who, strange to say, compete for the negroes' patronage. If I could bring myself to believe that it expresses the truth, I should be a worse infidel than Tom Paine or Robert Ingersoll. But I do not believe any such thing; on the contrary, I believe that God put the negro here to fulfil as high and honorable a mission as that assigned to the white man. What that mission is I am not prepared to say; but I do not concur with Bishop Haygood and others, in saying that the negro's mission is the redemption of Africa, for I do not believe that it is God's intention that the American negro shall emigrate to Africa. My candid opinion is, that it is in the divine mind that the negro shall remain and work out his destiny here.

Nor do I agree with Prof. Boughton in thinking that the negro has been placed here by the Creator that his blood may be used in producing a people that shall, in its day, be as peculiarly gifted as were the Greeks and Romans. I am fain to believe that the negro's mission lies along the line of the redemption of this country.

2nd. Would the solution of the problem by amalgamation be desirable? I am certain that such a solution would not be desirable to the whites. Nothing is so repugnant and revolting to the white man as the thought of miscegenation, and this is true even of the negro's most ardent friends. I have known a few "Yankee" teachers — men who were loud in their profession of undying love for the negro, and very intolerant of the Southern people's prejudices against the negro — to go into hysterical convulsions when they discovered that their daughters had a little too much fondness for some of the negro male students. I know one such teacher who gave up his work and returned home, because he suspected that his daughter was interested in a negro student.

Nor would such a solution of the problem be desirable to the negroes. I admit that the few negroes who have the "white fever," and who would rather be white than be good, would welcome amalga-

mation with delight, but no truly educated, self-respecting negro with race pride would desire such a solution of the problem. Every such negro is anxious for the race to retain its identity, so that it may have the opportunity of demonstrating, before a doubting world, the fact that the negro possesses the same capabilities as the white man.

3rd. Can the problem not be solved in some other way than by fusion? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to know what the race problem is. Some understand the problem to be this: Can the negroes become educated, moral, wealthy, and enterprising citizens like the whites? If so, how?

This was the great problem that confronted the nation immediately after the emancipation, but the negroes have, within the past thirty years, made such phenomenal and prodigious strides along the line of education, wealth, and morality, that this is no longer a problem. The great problem that now confronts and agitates the nation, and to which Prof. Boughton refers, is the following: How can the two races, so heterogeneous the one to the other, live here together in peace and harmony? Now, cannot this problem be solved in some other way than by amalgamation? I think it can. My opinion is that, in order to solve this problem, there are certain things which the negroes must do, and certain other things which the whites must do.

1st. The negroes must regard and treat the whites as their friends. In the reconstruction period, the negroes alienated themselves from the whites and regarded and treated them as enemies. It being to the advantage of certain designing and wily politicians to keep the negroes estranged from the whites, they unscrupulously and faithfully taught them to look upon every white man as a foe; and the negroes did not fail to follow the instructions of their political masters. But the negroes are getting their eyes open on this point, and are beginning to know that, while there are many Southern white people who are opposed to, and do what they can to prevent, their elevation, who endeavor to keep them in a condition of servitude and ignorance, and who to this end refuse to pay them living wages for their hard labor, who cheat and swindle them, who force them to ride in dirty and uncomfortable cars, who lynch and murder many of their fellows, there are also very many Southern whites who are their friends.

I will not admit, as some do, that the Southern whites are the negroes' best friends; for there is a class of white men and women in the North who are far better friends to the negroes than the Southern whites. I refer to the men and women who before the war labored assiduously and indefatigably with their voices, their prayers, their pens, and with their money for the negro's emancipation, and who since the war have given their millions to the establishment and the mainte-

nance of the schools, colleges, and universities that are sending forth young, active, intelligent, enthusiastic negro men and women, who are doing much toward the solution of their problem. I refer also to those heroic men and women who, taking their lives in their own hands, came to this South land, when it was dangerous to come, to labor in the schools and in other spheres to elevate the downtrodden negroes.

We have no such friends as these in the South. But we have whites in the South who are friendly enough to the negroes to wish them well. It is through this class of whites that we have tolerably good public-school facilities, and in some instances good colleges for the higher training of our young men and women. I believe that every Southern state has in operation a normal and industrial college for the higher education of the negroes, and that some of the Southern Churches, as the Methodist Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Episcopalian, are operating colleges for the negroes. This class of whites have encouraged and helped the negroes to buy homes and lands. Now, while this class of whites are not willing for the negroes to enjoy to the same extent as themselves the immunities, rights, and privileges guaranteed to them by the Constitution, yet they desire to see their status along this line bettered. They are willing for the negroes to have better accommodations on the railways, but they are not willing for them to ride in cars with themselves. They are willing for the courts to deal justly with the negroes except where white men are involved. I do not believe that there are a hundred white men in all the South who would favor the hanging of a prominent white man for the murder of a negro. This class of whites are willing for the negroes to be educated to a certain extent, but they are not willing for them to be educated to the same extent as themselves. A few of this class are opposed to the lynching of negroes, even when there is evidence of their guilt.

It would not be amiss at this juncture to mention the fact that there are many whites in the South who have always been the negroes' friends. It was persons of this class who were opposed to slavery, and would not own slaves. It was masters of this class ~~who~~ manumitted their slaves and sent them North or to Africa. It was persons of this class who would not go to the battlefield to fight for the perpetuation of slavery until forced to do so. It was masters of this class who did not touch their slaves, and did not allow anybody else to touch them, and who fed, clothed, and treated their slaves well in every way. Now, this class of whites the negroes should regard and treat as friends. To do this is to make them better friends and to get more out of them. The negroes of the South have lost considerably by their indiscriminate antagonism to the Southern whites.

2nd. The negroes must take a lively interest in the white man's

best welfare. Somehow it has not gotten into the minds of many of the negroes that the two races are so intimately connected that what affects the one affects the other, and what helps the one helps the other; that when the white man prospers, the negro prospers; that when the white man has money, the negro has work and bread; and that when the white man has no money, the negro has neither work nor bread. Within the past three years, during which the white man, by reason of the financial stringency, has not been able to employ and give bread to the idle negro, it has been seen by the negroes as never before that the interests of the two races are identical. That being true, how important it is that the negro should interest himself in the white man's best welfare! To do this is to receive, in turn, the white man's interest and friendship. One of the many things that have made the white man feel unkindly toward the negro and indifferent to his welfare, is the fact that, after getting his bread, his home, and the education of his children through the white man's employing and paying him good wages, the negro antagonizes the white man's interests. Let the negro, then, realizing that his and the white man's interests are one, that he and the white man must stand or fall together, do what he can to promote the white man's interests, and the white man will feel better toward him and do more to advance his interests. If the two races are to live here in peace, they must look to each other's interests, and labor for each other's welfare.

3rd. The negroes must disintegrate politically. The negroes' political solidity has worked greatly to their disadvantage. It has made and kept up the solid South. The negroes being solidly Republican, the whites are solidly Democratic to prevent negro domination. But for the negroes' political solidity the solid South would have broken long ago. Now, the negroes' political and, for that matter, his other salvation, will never come as long as there is a solid South; and there will be solid South as long as the negroes are solid. Nothing, therefore, will break the solid South but the political disintegration of the negroes. Now, if the negroes can break the solid South by disintegrating, they had better disintegrate; for the solid South means the negroes' political oppression. I need not remind the reader of the melancholy fact, that, with few exceptions, the thousands of negroes who have been slain since the war, were murdered for no other reason than that they were Republicans and voted solidly for Republican candidates. Nor need I state that the ballot-box stuffing, the tissue ballot, and the other villanous election frauds were the schemes of solid Democrats to defeat solid negro Republicans. Nor need I say that the failure of the negroes to have their votes counted is due to the fact that those votes are cast solidly. Let the negroes disintegrate, and ballot-box stuffing, the tissue ballot, and the other election frauds, and the

murdering of negroes for political reasons will be numbered with the things of the past. Nor will there ever be the best of feeling between the two races in the South as long as the negroes are solid politically on the one hand, and the whites are solid on the other. Let the negroes disintegrate, and much of the bad feeling on the part of the whites toward them will vanish.

But, says one, if the negroes disintegrate, where should they go? Should they go to the Democrats? I answer no, a thousand times no, and for the following reasons:

1st. The Democratic party from its origin has rightly been known as a party opposed to the negro and his best interests. The congressional records will show that every measure looking to the negroes' welfare passed by Congress was vigorously opposed by the Democratic party. The 14th and 15th amendments and the Civil Rights bill were opposed by that party.

2nd. The Democratic party has all of the negroes' bitter enemies in it. I certainly would not like to belong to the party that has so many negro murderers and lynchers in it.

3rd. The negroes should not ally with the Democrats for the same reason that they should not be solid as they now are. Any party will use as tools and badly treat any class of voters who stick to them like sycophants. The Republican party has not failed to take advantage of the negroes' sycophantic adherence to them. When that party was in power, the Irishman or the Frenchman or the Italians or the Swedes or the Hungarians could go to Washington and put in their claims for office with a great deal more prospect of success than the negroes. Why? Because, on the one hand, the appointing powers felt that they had to make concessions to these nationalities or they would at the next election throw their votes to the other party; and, on the other hand, they knew that the negroes were solid Republicans, and that they would vote for them, office or no office. Now, if the negroes were solid Democrats, they would be treated in the same way. I once thought that it would be a good idea for the negroes to ally with the Populists, as they promised a disintegration of the solid South. But I do not think that now. I think, now, that the negroes should organize themselves into a negro party; not a solid negro party, in the sense in which they are now solid, for then the solid South would become more solid, but solid in the sense of being independent of the other parties, having it understood that they would go to and support the party that was ready to make the greatest concessions to them. This would set the several parties competing for the negroes' votes. In such case each party would try to treat the negroes the best and to do the most for them in order to win their votes. The party in power would, in order to remain in power, do

the very best for the negroes; while the party out would accord the very best treatment to the negroes in order to secure their votes at the next election. In this way the negroes would have the best treatment, and would get whatever they wanted. In such case, moreover, every negro vote, in this way, would surely be counted; and if the negroes got into trouble on account of voting for the men of one party or faction, the men of that party or faction would protect them. The negroes, therefore, would have protection, and there would be no murdering of them for political reasons. In this way the negroes would become the pets of all parties and factions, each trying to do the most for them in order to gain their votes.

I hope to see the day come when the negroes will do this thing. Whenever that day comes there will be a great change in politics, so far as the negroes are concerned, and you will see the negroes and the whites getting on peaceably; for no two peoples like the whites and the negroes can live together in peace when they are arrayed against each other in politics. Let the negroes then disintegrate.

I have now named the things which the negroes must do in order to the solution of the problem; let us next see what the whites must do.

1st. They must cease to think that the negroes were designed to be only their drawers of water and hewers of wood. They must stop trying to keep the negroes in this position. They must realize the fact that all negroes are not their servants; that there are some negroes who have risen above the necessity of hewing their wood and drawing their water for bread. They must accord to this class the treatment which they deserve; they must treat them as they treat any other people in similar circumstances. Intelligent negroes, who have their thousands, will never be satisfied to be cuffed and kicked around as servants. And I want to say here that the negroes who are serving the whites in menial positions are not satisfied with the treatment which they receive at the hands of their employers. Many white people seem to forget that their servants are not their slaves. The white people must come to the point where they will treat both the colored people who are their servants and those who are not their servants, better, if they would have the negroes satisfied and peaceable.

2nd. The whites must learn to treat the negro right as a neighbor. Bishop Haygood indicates the way in which white men should treat their negro neighbors. He says the white man should propose this question to himself:

"How must I and my black neighbor treat each other? He is my neighbor, living near me with his family; he is my friend also. He is a citizen; more than that, he is a man: the law made him a citizen, God made him a man. I am as much bound by eternal righteousness to deal as righteously with him in all things as with my most cultivated neighbor; and let it not be overlooked that the negro is as much

bound as I am to deal righteously in all relations that bind us together. I may, because I have larger opportunities, owe more duty to him than he owes to me, but the nature of the obligation is just the same. If I wrong my black neighbor, taking advantage of his ignorance or weakness or dependence, or of anything peculiar to his condition that gives me the advantage of him, I am all the viler for using my advantage unrighteously. I must teach him to respect my rights. I do this best by respecting his. I must teach him to respect and keep his contracts; to do this I must respect and keep mine. I must teach him to obey law and respect authority; to do this I must set the example. I must teach him to speak the truth; to do this I must speak the truth to him. I must teach him honesty; to do this I must be honest to him."

Now, should the whites treat the negroes as above indicated, it would help matters wonderfully.

3rd. The whites must respect the negroes and concede to them their rights. The negroes will never be contented as long as they are forced to ride in dirty smoking cars, when they pay the same fare as the whites; nor as long as they are excluded from the jury box and proscribed in public places; nor as long as they cannot have their votes counted; nor as long as they are murdered and lynched. And if the education of the negroes is to make them what it has made white men; if, in becoming educated, the negroes will become more independent, more manful, more conscious of their rights, and more willing to die for them, there will be the most terrible conflict in this South land some day that has ever been heard or read of. Unless the whites be educated out of their prejudices, educated up to the point where they will readily concede to the negroes their every right, this "irrepressible conflict" is bound to come. For when the negroes become educated, they will not quietly submit, as they now do, to the wrongs perpetrated upon them. If that time should come and find the whites with the same prejudices which they now have, the same spirit, the same determination to deprive the negroes of their rights, there will be many negroes who will rise up and cry, like Patrick Henry of old, "Give me liberty or give me death." There will be thousands who will bravely die rather than have their rights trampled upon by white men. So the white people of this country had better begin their education along the line of treating the negro better.

4th. The whites must take greater interest,—

1st. In the Negroes' education. As has already been observed, the Southern whites have done considerable toward the education of the negroes; and there are not a few of these people who are beginning to feel that they have done enough in this direction. But how comes it that the negro is ignorant? Who is responsible for it? Why, the Southern white people, who, in years gone by, kept the negro under strict surveillance, that he might not have the opportunity to learn to read and write, and who made any attempt on his part to learn, punishable by the lash. How can the Southern people, in view of the fact that they

are responsible for the negroes' ignorance, and that they are indebted to them for 270 years' hard labor, feel that they have done or can do enough for them? It would seem that the white man would have such compunction of conscience over the negro's ignorance, for which he is responsible, and such a desire to make amends to him for his ignorance, that he would consider what he has already done toward his education as nothing compared to what he ought to do.

But, says one, what more can the Southern people do? I will let a Southern white man answer:

The Southern people should give money to help educating the negroes. I do not mean only give it as States, in the payment of taxes, but as individuals they should give it when they are able; and some are able to give money to this cause. If the work of educating the negroes of the South is ever to be carried on satisfactorily, if ever the best results are to be accomplished, the Southern white people must take part in the work of teaching negro schools.

I do not concur with this last statement, for the reason that, while it may be the duty of the Southern people to teach negro schools, they are, by reason of their inveterate prejudices against the negroes, unprepared to teach them. Among other things, the Negro needs to be taught that he is as capable of intellectual development as any other people; that he should have none the less self-respect because he is a negro; that he should not cringe and bow to a man because he has a white face; that he should have the same race pride and ambition that characterize the other races; that manhood and womanhood do not consist in a white face. Now, the Southern people's prejudices will not allow them to teach the negro thus. They are therefore not prepared to teach negro schools.

But they are prepared to give money to this cause, and they should give it, not only because they are responsible for the negro's ignorance and are indebted to him for centuries of hard service, but also because the education of the negroes would render the problem less complex and, therefore, less difficult of solution, and would put the South on a more substantial basis of prosperity.

2nd. In the Negroes' moral elevation. The Southern white people are so far from interesting themselves in the negroes' moral uplifting, that they neither condemn nor endeavor to create a sentiment against white men corrupting negro women. The following questions, propounded by Prof. Boughton, give an idea of the indifference with which the Southern people regard the unlawful alliance of white men with negro women:

Is that man, who can shamelessly and often openly pass his leisure in the presence of his colored mistress, too supreme a being to be that woman's legal husband? Is it more honorable for him to rear about him a brood of bastard offspring than to be the husband of the woman of his choice and the legal father of his children?

I wish to say here that the negroes are by no means satisfied with the fact, that the same so-called Christian people of the South, who think it no crime to swing to the nearest tree, without judge or jury, the negro who looks at a white woman, wink at the white men who, as Prof. Boughton says, openly pass their leisure with negro women.

3rd. In the Negroes' legal rights. And here I cannot do better than use the words of an eminent Southern white man:

If we of the South are to make progress with our problem, if we are to become the people Providence designs us to be, if we are to do our duty to God and to man, then let us understand distinctly, once and for all, that in the administration of law the negroes shall receive, not only in theory but in practice, fair dealing and justice. And this principle must assert itself in every court and in all matters that are brought into the court. In theory we have one law for both races; the practice must be according to the theory. When the court says, Make the negro pay his debt, let it also say, The white man must pay his debt. Let the same law be applied in all criminal prosecutions. The law does not know color or condition in its definitions; the administration of law should not know color. A crime that should imprison or hang a negro should imprison or hang a white man. A white man was hanged in Georgia for the murder of a negro; it was a contribution to right sentiment and good morals in the whole State.

4th. In the Negroes' protection against murderers and lynchers. While it is painful to contemplate, on the one hand, the outrages perpetrated upon the negroes in the South, it is gratifying to recall, on the other hand, the fact that many of the Southern whites are beginning to do something in the direction of putting an end to the lynching of negroes. And the time is not far distant when the Christian people of the South, believing lynching negroes to be as great a crime as prize-fighting, will by the same vigorous measures put an end as quickly to the former as they did to the latter. And the negroes will not feel right toward the whites until this is done.

I have now indicated what, in my opinion, the negroes and the whites must do in order to bring about the solution of the race problem. Does the reader ask me when this problem will be solved? I answer, Just as soon as the two races reach the point where, on the one hand, the negroes will regard and treat the whites as their friends, will take a lively interest in the white man's best welfare, will disintegrate politically and ally themselves with whatever party or faction will do the most for them; and where, on the other hand, the white man will cease to think that the negro was designed to be his servant, will treat the negro right as a neighbor, will respect and concede to him his every right, will take greater interest in his education, in his moral elevation, in his legal rights, and in his protection against lynchers and murderers. When will they reach that point? Not until they get enough of the spirit of Christ into their hearts to enable them to fulfil the golden rule: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

CLAIMS OF SPIRITUALISM UPON CHRISTIANITY.

BY REV. T. E. ALLEN.

FOR the purposes of this article, it is assumed that Spiritualism, as herein defined, is true. No attempt will be made to present any of the phenomena, or to discuss the relative strength of the several hypotheses which are held by different thinkers to explain them. My object is to show some of the chief claims of Spiritualism upon Christianity, which necessarily arise from the scope of each, and their relations to each other, in the hope that a few Christians may be aroused from that slumber of complacency which so effectually paralyzes growth.

Reduced to the lowest terms, the essential teachings of Spiritualism are: 1. Man continues to exist after the change called death; and, 2. There are laws in operation by obeying which spirits and mortals can communicate with each other. Now, not only is the doctrine of the immortality of the soul a vital part of Christianity, but its denial involves the actual destruction of almost all systems of theology, and a great weakening and loss of grandeur in the case of the remaining ones. Deny this doctrine, and the more or less fantastic schemes of reward and punishment in a future life fall to the ground, and the power of the evangelist with them. According to Smith's Bible Dictionary,

The resurrection of Christ is the grand pivot of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. . . . Immortality is no longer a dream or a theory, but a practical, tangible fact, a fact both proved and illustrated, and therefore capable of being both confidently believed and distinctly realized. . . . Christ brought life and immortality to light, not by authoritatively asserting the dogma of the immortality of the soul, but *by his own resurrection from the dead.*

The difference, in this writer's opinion, between heathen philosophy and Christianity in respect to the doctrine of immortality grows out of the resurrection of Christ. The "Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge" says:

The firm belief in the resurrection and the eternal life is one of the products of Christianity, and rests upon the resurrection of Christ.

Paul looked upon the resurrection of Jesus as a fact of tremendous significance; we may well say, as the central fact of Christianity, or as the keystone of an arch whose removal would ruin the whole system of Christian teaching. For in I Cor. xv he says:

If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. . . . If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miser-

able. . . . If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die.

After asking, "Will the religion of the future involve immortality?" Dr. Alfred Momerie says:

It is the only hypothesis which affords a logical basis for religion. . . . To sacrifice pleasure for character — apart from immortality — would be to give up the certain for the uncertain, the real for the chimerical, the possible for the impossible. The art of life is to be in harmony with one's environment. But if there be no future, the universe is immoral to the core, and therefore devotion to goodness is the crowning folly of the race.

One of the most striking phenomena of our time is the new point of view from which many men look over the field of religion. In the past the Christian conception of the universe has been to a great extent dualistic. There has been a realm of nature wherein man by the use of his faculties could learn many things of value. Above this there has been another realm, the ethico-religious, where these faculties were insufficient, and where it was needful that their operation should be supplemented by a miraculous working of intelligence, which alone, it was held, could reveal the will of God to man and point the way to bliss in a future life. These two parts of the universe were so hopelessly out of joint with each other that one who desired to find ethico-religious truth had to pin his faith exclusively to revelation, to the Bible, since they could neither be discovered nor verified by the operation of active, or even latent, universal human faculties. Little by little, the evolution of the soul of science, the scientific method, and its constant diffusion amongst the people, aided and accelerated by the discoveries of our own century, and by the battles between geology and Genesis, and evolution and theology — little by little, the triumphs of this method, and the underlying ideas which they suggested, have revealed to men that the universe is really a *uni*-verse, and that a truth, wherever and whenever found, must harmonize with every other truth.

When these conceptions fairly get possession of a man, he holds in well-merited contempt the dictum of many theologians, used in the past to stifle free inquiry and to open a door for retreat when they were hard pressed in argument, that "God never intended that we should know that." Seeing, then, that truth can form but one harmonious system, he takes a fresh start, and, casting aside the superstitions of the past surrounding the Bible, perceives that it is a human production, and that it must be judged, precisely as any other literature would be, by an appeal to the whole range of human experience.

It is to the growth of this consciousness that we owe the existence of the "higher criticism" of which we hear so much. But, precisely *what* do we mean by a *human* production? Because a bookkeeper

engaged in the prosaic occupation of posting his ledger, where no man would affirm inspiration, needs the coöperation of the air he breathes to enable him to do his work, no one denies that his labor is strictly human. Why, then, shall we set up the claim that the work of the prophet, alleged to be inspired, is something other than human, in the widest sense of the term normal, and within the possible attainment of all human beings, making it fall within the scope of universal law, merely because the *kind* of coöperation is somewhat different in that it is here with a real or supposed spiritual realm?

Now, it is precisely here that we come to the parting of the ways. For, it can be said, without the possibility of refutation, that the higher critical movement having, as it has, the support of the most truth-loving and many of the most eminent scholars of all creeds, has come to stay, and that no sortie of the reactionists can capture and chain it up in a dungeon away from the light of truth. While all this is true, that mysterious something called inspiration remains, with the problem of the "supernaturalism" of the Bible, and that other problem of the immortality of the soul which Christianity shares with all great religions and all adequate philosophies. What do the higher critics say to these questions? Dr. I. Hooykaas, in a work sanctioned by Kuenen, says,¹ "The return to earth of one already dead and glorified, or the veritable apparition of a spirit, is a thing which far transcends the limits of credibility." Is this author true to his basic principles of interpretation? Does his work show that he has made a careful study of psychical phenomena, as they occur in our own time, in order to obtain the key with which to unlock the casket enclosing the mysteries of Bible "supernaturalism"? No. He accepts the logical consequences of his own belief, even though it involves the denial of the resurrection of Jesus as an historical event. We honor him for being consistent at such a great cost, but, when he makes his own prepossessions the touchstone of truth, with no thought of an appeal to modern psychical experience, he ceases to be scientific, and must be declared a blind guide.

Let us take another case. Rev. Edward H. Hall says:²

Supernatural, in its common acceptation, means somehow or somewhere, whether close at hand or infinitely distant, a permanent line of separation between the known and the unknown; it means the existence of some other world where the divine agency is more direct and arbitrary than here. The very necessity of the word, and the insistence upon it, show that the word "natural" is not enough; that either above nature, or beneath or beyond it, there is supposed to be something which is not exactly nature, and which requires a special name. In urging the claims of naturalism, a term which has to bear ever and anon a fresh burden of contumely, I believe

¹ "The Bible for Learners," vol. III, p. 468.

² *The New World*, Sept. 1893, p. 550.

myself to be pointing out a distinct line of cleavage which runs through all faiths and churches and schools to-day. . . . The same cleavage it is, if I may be allowed to stray for a moment beyond my beat, which is showing itself in certain fields of scientific research, as in the infant science of psychology, between those who, in groping among the obscure phenomena of mind, and making startling discoveries there, are ready, with every new mystery, to fancy themselves beyond the limits of natural law, and those to whom each new region of consciousness, or stratum of personality, or power of mind over mind, only tells of the vastness of the mental universe, and opens new worlds for science to conquer. Every such schism, whether in church or laboratory or lecture room, marks more distinctly the breach between those to whom nature seems unequal to her own necessities, and those to whom nature is forever sufficient to herself. Every provisional expedient, whereby church or Bible or invisible ghostly agencies are enthroned in supreme authority once more, postpones for a time only the final renunciation of all authority but that of truth. For what is truth but the consistency, through time and eternity, of nature with herself?

If we ask what assumption it is on the part of some students of psychology that shows that they "are ready, with every new mystery, to fancy themselves beyond the limits of natural law," the answer is, if I rightly interpret Mr. Hall's words, that of "invisible ghostly agencies" as a cause. Now, while it is true that there are many Christians who believe in the dualistic scheme rejected by Mr. Hall, and while some of these may, upon the authority of the Bible, believe in the reality of "ghostly agencies," even though they refuse to accept the logical consequences of such a belief; the believers in modern Spiritualism, and the students of psychology who have stumbled upon facts which, to their minds, prove or render probable the spiritualistic interpretation of certain facts, deny such a dualism as emphatically as Mr. Hall himself. They believe, either that "invisible ghostly agencies" form a part of that nature "forever sufficient to herself," or else that the inference that such exist is just as scientific — if the facts compel it — as any known to chemistry and physics. Furthermore, they would say that the language used by Mr. Hall is tantamount to his claiming the possession of a kind of knowledge unknown to science, whereby he is able to determine *a priori* the limits of nature and the unreality of "ghostly agencies." What I have said elsewhere¹ in discussing the term supernatural seems appropriate at this point:

Our knowledge of facts is, in the strictest sense, limited to our knowledge of states of consciousness. It is from these that we infer the characteristics of causes which we judge to be adequate to the production of one or more effects. From the standpoint of science . . . every effect experienced, or capable of being experienced, in consciousness, results from the operation of one or more causes which originate within the cosmos and are therefore cosmic, whence nothing that can possibly be of the slightest concern to man can be denominated extra- or super-cosmic. Now I strongly suspect that many modern thinkers have made the term "supernatural agent" synonymous with *extra- or super-cosmic cause*, whereas it can much more properly be rendered an *invisible entity acting as a cause*. Very properly denying, as they do, the existence of anything extra-cosmic, these thinkers are disgusted with anyone who uses the word "supernatural" or any allied term. This leads them to

¹ *The Psychical Review*, vol. II, p. 222.

distrust the intellectual capacity of one who propounds explanations in any way involving this conception, and to infer that his testimony as to alleged facts must be worthless. From a misapprehension as to what is involved in the term "supernatural," they are erroneously led to infer that the facts . . . [so explained] cannot be genuine.

To sum up this part of the argument, the position taken by Mr. Hall is not scientific; for the great questions of the investigator are, what happens and under what conditions? and of all these things that *do* happen, no one of them is any more miraculous or any less natural than any other.

The quotations made illustrate the dilemma in which I hold that the vast majority of Protestant Christians are destined to find themselves ere long as an inevitable consequence of the growth and diffusion of the scientific consciousness. For, granting the unity of the universe and the reign of law, either: 1. The leaders of Christian thought, true to the principles of the higher criticism, must look to modern psychical phenomena for the light by which to interpret the resurrection of Jesus and other phenomena of the first century, and then, finding nothing that sustains the contention of the spiritualist, dismiss the first-century evidence as unreliable, thus eliminating from the Bible all phenomenal evidence that supports the doctrine of immortality; or: 2. Finding in modern phenomena facts that do sustain the spiritualistic claim, they must conclude that genuine phenomena, susceptible of the same interpretation, could have been witnessed in the first century, and therefore might have been observed by the authors of the New Testament and then, very properly, incorporated in its text. But this second alternative concedes the truth of the basic contentions of Spiritualism, which is so almost unutterably odious to thousands of good Christian people! Now, it is precisely for this reason, because *everything* that is fit to be called *proof* belongs, by its very nature, to its domain, that I maintain that, if true, Spiritualism, whose basic claim is that it proves immortality, is most emphatically worth while, and that its strong claim upon Christianity cannot be gainsaid. In fact, Spiritualism — in spite of that bugaboo, *fraud*, and the narrowness of many of its advocates — is an integral part of primitive Christianity, and those Christians who attack it are blindly seeking to undermine the chief prop of their own religious system!

Christians must face the truth that there is no escape from the dilemma just pointed out. It will be said, indeed, that Jesus was different in nature from other men; very well then, until it be proved that what is true of horses is necessarily true of snails, his resurrection proves absolutely nothing for other men, for the particulars in which Jesus differed from other men might be the very ones that rendered his resurrection possible. It will be said that such phenomena were per-

mitted by God in the apostolic age for a special purpose, and that they no longer occur. But the scientific consciousness, already mentioned as growing in its hold upon men, replies: "No. The universe is one; phenomena are governed by laws the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." And the spiritualist says: "Look at *these* phenomena and then say, if you can, that the evidences of immortality ceased with the apostolic age."

When the average Christian says to you that he wants *the truth*, he is a liar; not consciously, in the majority of cases, but he is a liar nevertheless. What he does want, above all other things, is to sustain *his* creed, to see it victorious, to see other men bow down to it. If he *did* want the truth, he would be willing to give up any or all of his ideas for it; he would recognize that the history of thought is strewn with errors and outgrown ideas; he would therefore suspect that his present beliefs *might* not be one hundred per cent true. This would make him solicitous to learn the means by which truth can be separated from error, and he would seek opportunities to compare his opinions with those of others, in order that he might be led to new truth. True, he identifies his creed with truth, but had he not lurking suspicions that there is a flaw somewhere, he would be open-minded, knowing that a truth is ever more firmly established, and more powerful for good, in proportion as its relations to other truths are perceived. For centuries the churches have erred by laying great stress upon orthodoxy of belief, saying, "*We have the truth.*" There was once a Teacher — one would think that they had never heard of Him! — who taught that the open-mindedness of the child is the very condition of entrance into the kingdom of heaven, that the *spirit of truth* will lead his disciples into all truth, and that they shall do greater things than he did. Did *He* recommend creeds and stagnation — *final* formulations of truth? Whom do the *signs* more largely follow, the orthodox believers or some of the cranks, to whom, if they desired it, many would deny the name Christian? Wise in their day and generation, the orthodox say: "Go to, now, let us deny that any signs are given, then we shall be without reproach. It is easier to *believe* on Jesus Christ and Him crucified, than to fit ourselves for the indwelling and manifestation of his spirit." "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The average Christian is a coward — *very* respectable, but a coward nevertheless. He dare not lift up his head and face the universe, relying upon the faculties he possesses to work out his own salvation, albeit he professes to believe that the good God made both! In nothing is my contention more manifest than in the treatment which Spiritualism has received at the hands of many Christians. The edict seems to have gone forth years ago: "Destroy the pestilential thing root and branch ;

misrepresent and malign it, if that will kill it, or, you who think that the best course is to ignore it, unite in that conspiracy of silence which has many times defeated the enemies of our faith." When the conscientious, church-going Christian will concede that men are justified in staying away from church by the plea that there are hypocrites amongst its members, when the pupil is exhorted to close his eyes and ears for fear that he may accept error for truth, when the farmer is gravely told to throw away his grain because there is chaff mixed with it, and when the miner is laughed to scorn because he handles tons of worthless earth and rock to extract a few ounces of gold, then, and not till then, will I grant that the Christian, with the admonition, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good," ringing in his ears, is justified in ignoring Spiritualism because frauds have been perpetrated within its domain! Away with such cowardice! You are not so unsophisticated as to assert that truth is given to man in chemically pure chunks, or so stupid as to reject everything not so labelled. "Put away childish things," cast off the yoke laid upon your shoulders by the traditions of the elders by affirming your freedom, and have the manhood to face the problem presented to the world by Spiritualism. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Were it not for the ignorance, prejudice, and selfishness which still possess what is *called* Christianity, keeping out the Christ spirit, and for the religious machines, *called* denominations, which reward conformity and punish a larger vision of truth, Christians would recognize the close affiliation or actual identity of the wonders of the New Testament and modern psychical phenomena, *and they would move heaven and earth but they would know what their relation is to Christianity, and what they portend for the welfare of humanity.* But, being altogether too busy maintaining their social and business respectability, and in looking after the loaves and fishes, why, of course, it is unreasonable to expect any such thing. It is surprising that anyone should suggest such an idea!

Let us return now to the problem of inspiration, already mentioned. Trying to account for the existence of great men who have always played such an important part in the evolution of humanity, Prof. C. H. Toy, of Harvard University, says:¹

We may demonstrate the man's relation to his past, exhibit the circle of ideas in which he grows up, and perceive the connection between his thought and that of his times; but in the last analysis, when we reach the creative moment, it is impossible to give the history of the process. There is a mystery in his mental experiences, in the way in which he seizes on the problem, combines its elements, and reaches his result. He himself can commonly give no logical account of his procedure, he can only say that he sees and knows the solution; out of many possible ways of dealing with the questions of life, he has chosen one which proves to be the right one, inasmuch as it commends itself to men and introduces harmony and peace in place of dis-

¹ "Judaism and Christianity," p. 23.

cord and unrest. The larger the problem, the more numerous do the possible solutions seem to men to be, the greater the difficulty of seizing on the one simple thought which shall convert the chaos into a cosmos, and the harder to represent the mental spiritual process by which the transforming discovery is made. It is a mystery that meets us in every department of human life; when we have called it genius, intuition, or inspiration, so far from defining it, we have only labelled it with a name which defies definition. Great artists, statesmen, discoverers of natural law, social and religious reformers, move in a sphere beyond the reach of other men; they are linked with the world by all natural ties, but their thought seems to be born in a sphere above the world. Their fellow-men have naturally thought of them as seized on by a higher power, especially when they had to do with the religious life; the word "inspiration" has been almost exclusively set apart to denote the deep spiritual knowledge and the transforming religious energy which, it has seemed to men, could issue only from a superhuman source. It is the word which expresses for our ordinary conception the mysteriousness of the human soul in contrast with its orderly obedience to law. These two elements of human thought are harmonized when we conceive of it as the creation of the divine spirit working according to natural law.

This is an admirable statement, as clear and adequate as could be expected from the author's standpoint; but Spiritualism reveals to the world what is a mystery to Prof. Toy. The judgment of any intelligent spiritualist of wide experience will sanction, I believe, the following explanation of inspiration: The laws whose operation have made it possible for investigators to establish the identity of many spirits, and thereby to demonstrate immortality, have also made it possible for spiritualists to receive the truths that the worlds of spirits and mortals are in constant communion, and that there are, in the former, beings superior in intellect and good will to humanity to the majority of people, or to all, living upon our earth. Such having, then, in some respects at least, a clearer perception of the needs of humanity, or of individuals, than our fellow-mortals, see fit to discipline certain faculties in selected men and women — thus making active in some what is latent in all — so that they become more or less perfect instruments through which they ("guides" or "controls," as they are frequently called) can transmit thought or in which they can stimulate activity of will or emotion. "When we reach the creative moment," then, the spirit has succeeded in transmitting his thought clearly to or through an instrument. It is not the latter who "seizes on the problem, combines the elements, and reaches" the result, but the *in-forming* spirit, whose knowledge, so difficult of explanation to Prof. Toy and others, is as normal to his experience, conditions, and plane of development as the acquisitions of a college professor in Greek, chemistry, or mathematics. Thus conceived, it is not a matter of surprise that the *inspiration*, the result of the voluntary effort of a superior intelligence, does "introduce harmony" and "convert the chaos into a cosmos," for these are the purposes of the spirit, and just what the conditions have made it possible to achieve. The term inspiration no longer "defies defini-

tion," and the thought of great artists, statesmen, and others *is* "born in a sphere above the world," for they *are* "seized on by a higher power."

To prevent misconception, it is necessary to supplement what has been said by touching briefly upon several points. 1. There are in the spirit world beings of all grades of development, from the lowest to the highest, some of them inferior to many mortals. 2. All who take the trouble to acquire the necessary knowledge of the laws and control of their own powers can communicate with mortals. 3. Christians may point to the cases of demoniacal possession cited in the New Testament and say: "If there *is* any truth in Spiritualism, there it is; you are welcome to it; I don't want it"; but if you choose to state the case in such terms, when you open the gates of hell you at the same time and under the same law open those of heaven. 4. While it is true that certain phases of mediumship are exercised with a minimum coöperation of moral and intellectual power, other phases, and the same ones as exercised by the real leaders of humanity — as a rule, with no adequate knowledge of the process, or of their own relation to an inspiring intelligence — are not such as constitute them, in any true sense, puppets, or as detract from their greatness; but, on the contrary, they are such as call for the highest consecration and cultivation of all of the leader's own powers. This is a case of economy in a high realm; like attracts like, and the intelligent and unselfish in both worlds work together in a common cause. 5. Spirit infallibility is a delusion. Those who cherish the belief will have their eyes opened, though it may be through much suffering. 6. Nothing was ever yet written in Bible or sacred book that might not have emanated from a finite intelligence. For, if a mortal can understand it, it follows that a finite spirit has the necessary intelligence to inspire it; and if he cannot, it is not a revelation at all, has no power to help him, and lies, indeed, outside of the pale of possible judgment. 7. In the light of what is generally believed by educated men, it can be asserted with entire confidence, that no man can prove that any revelation has come to man *immediately* from God. On the other hand, if Spiritualism be true, there is proof that some revelations have come from finite spirits, and a strong presumption that all have. These claims, however, by no means dismiss God from the universe. Many people are very solicitous lest He should be dismissed from the commanding position assigned Him in Christian philosophy. Instead of degrading God, such views ennoble man by acknowledging the high function which human spirits have performed in the evolution of humanity for untold ages.

In dwelling upon the doctrine of immortality and the nature of inspiration, we have taken into account two of the chief claims of

Spiritualism upon Christianity — yea, upon *religion*. Lack of space forbids the discussion of a number of others. In conclusion, however, my conviction is that the growth of the scientific consciousness in general, and the spiritualistic and psychical research movements in particular, will, before many years, force Christianity to frankly acknowledge the claims of Spiritualism. For, when aspiring man sees a great object through a glass darkly, and suspects that there are means by which he may perceive it face to face, he refuses to be satisfied until the clearer vision is his. Not only, too, is Spiritualism an integral part of religion, but it is the demonstrator of important laws, an interpreter having many things of moment to say to us, an open doorway into an enlarged universe, and the revealer to consciousness of channels — whose mere existence is still denied by the majority — through which great blessings can be transmitted to humanity. In short, nowhere else can we look with the same confidence for the manifestation of the laws upon which the higher life of man depends, and for the proof of laws destined ere long to found a New Christianity upon a basis truly scientific because possessing that universality which we attach to the conception of law, as against the local and special elements associated with the old historical basis.

DEVELOPMENT OF NATURALIZATION LAWS.

BY CLIFFORD S. WALTON,

Of the Washington Bar.

RECENT international controversies, in which the United States has been more or less involved, have developed many interesting questions as to the exact status of persons, and the effects of naturalization at home and abroad.

International law prescribes no general formalities for use when a change of allegiance from one government to another is effected by a subject, but the law of each state lays down the conditions on which it will receive foreigners into the ranks of its citizens.

Thus in the United States the general rule, to which, however, there are several exceptions, is that the alien who wishes to become a citizen must have resided in the country for at least five years; must have made, before a proper court, at least two years before his application for naturalization, a declaration on oath of his intention to become a citizen; and must take an oath of allegiance to the United States and of renunciation of his former allegiance.

The legal effects of naturalization, in so far as they concern the person naturalized in relation to the state of his choice, are determined exclusively by its law.

In regard to a subject who has acquired a foreign nationality, we find that the old doctrine of inalienable allegiance, set forth in the maxim, *Nemo potest exuere patriam*, is in force in Switzerland, and is still acted upon in all its severity in Russia.

The law of Turkey, like that of Russia and some other countries, does not recognize unpermitted change of allegiance of a Turkish subject; but a United States passport, held by a naturalized subject, is recognized by Turkish authorities as evidence of the fact of naturalization and citizenship. The recognition, however, does not prejudice the exercise of the sovereign right of exclusion or expulsion of persons so naturalized since 1869 without the imperial consent.

The contention of Spain before the last Spanish and American commission in regard to claims of naturalized Cubans was to the same effect — that a Spanish subject could not expatriate himself without the consent of his sovereign.

This doctrine, at one time, was also upheld by the United States, based on the common-law doctrine that natural subjects owe an allegiance to the sovereign which they cannot absolve; that natural allegiance is primitive and intrinsic, perpetual and indelible, and cannot be divested without the consent of the prince to whom it was first due. — *Talbot v. Janson*, 3 Dall (Pa.), 133; *Murray v. Betsey*, 2 Cranch (U. S.), 64; *Shanks v. Dupont*, 3 Pet. (U. S.), 242; *et al.*

This doctrine, however true it still may be, the United States Congress has overridden by expressly giving general consent to expatriation in enacting "that expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all persons." U. S. Rev. Stat., secs. 1999, 2000, and 2001.

Similar legislation has been effected in Great Britain (33 Vic. c. 14, sec. 6), which lays down that British subjects lose their citizenship by voluntarily assuming citizenship in another state; and, with regard to naturalized citizens of Great Britain, it declares that they will be protected wheresoever they may be except in the country of their original allegiance. They will not be entitled to the privileges of British citizens within its borders, unless by acquiring their new nationality they cease to be its subjects according to its laws or the stipulations of a treaty made with it. Between the extremes mentioned, the law of the great majority of states hovers, imposing conditions upon expatriation, and declaring that the subject naturalized abroad loses by naturalization his quality of citizen for most purposes.

Some states, like Italy, still regard him as subject to military service, and several consider him to be punishable with death if he bears arms against his native country.

In the converse case of a citizen of a foreign country who has become a naturalized subject, some states regard him as entirely and for all purposes on an equality as to rights and protection with their born subjects, while others recognize that the country of his birth still has rights against him, which it may enforce if he goes within its territory. The former contentions of Spain are now set aside by its new constitution (promulgated in Cuba in 1881), and by their civil code, adopted in 1889, which have the same provisions in both; article 1 of the former embracing the subject matter of articles 17 and 20 of the latter, which, first, recognize the right of foreigners to expatriate themselves and become naturalized citizens of Spain; and, secondly, provide "that a Spaniard may lose his quality as a citizen by becoming naturalized in a foreign country, or by accepting employment of another government, or by entering the military or naval service of a foreign power without the permission of his king."

The legislative department of the United States government seems to be in advance of its executive in its doctrine of "a natural and inherent

right of expatriation." To arrive at an intelligent understanding of the subject it will be necessary to go back some time.

Mr. Wheaton, when minister at Berlin in 1840, refused to take up the case of J. P. Knacke, a Prussian who had been naturalized in the United States and had returned to Prussia. He was therefore compelled to serve in the Prussian army, and Mr. Wheaton held that the United States could not interfere to protect him in the country of his birth.

Mr. Webster, when Secretary of State in 1852, took similar grounds in the cases of Ignacio Tolen, a Spaniard, and Victor Depierre, a Frenchman. But General Cass, who held the same office in 1859, drew a distinction in the case of Hofer, a Prussian, between inchoate and perfect obligation, and claimed a right to protect naturalized citizens in the countries of their birth unless the offence alleged was complete before expatriation. The Prussian government declined to admit the contention, but gave a discharge from the army as a favor, what it refused as a right.

The year 1868 witnessed considerable activity of negotiation on the subject of naturalization, and conventions were negotiated with Austria, the North German Confederation (which in 1870 grew into the German Empire), and Baden.

These have since been followed by others, and nearly all of them expressly provide that a naturalized citizen of one country, who is by birth a subject of another, may be tried on his return to his fatherland for offences against its laws committed before emigration.

In some, special mention is made of military service, and it is stipulated that the obligation must have actually accrued before emigration in order to render the offender liable to military duty on his return, or to trial and punishment for the neglect of it. The possibility of a future call to service is not enough. The call must have actually been made.

It is impossible to lay down any general rule in regard to the protection this government will extend to a citizen, whether native-born or naturalized, living in a foreign country. Each case must stand upon its own merits.

When a citizen of the United States places himself within the jurisdiction of a foreign government and subjects himself and his property to its laws, and when such a citizen afterward seeks the interference of the United States to redress some personal wrong and to recover compensation for losses suffered at the hands of such foreign government, this government reserves the right to determine, at its own discretion, what action it will take not only on the merits of the particular claim, but also in regard to the claimant's right to protection.

It is for this government to say whether the claim shall be presented or not to the foreign government.

In regard to what weight and effect shall be given to a certificate of naturalization by a foreign government or international tribunal, while it may be argued that this government has never permitted its certificate of naturalization to be questioned and gone behind by any such foreign authority, still the conditional right and protection secured by such a certificate must not be confused with its unassailable character, which is separable from the former.

A naturalized subject may, by abandonment and neglect to observe and perform the duties which are incumbent upon him as such, forfeit all right of protection from this country, even if he has not clearly become expatriated.

There are cases where this country will recognize citizenship, but will hesitate about extending protection to a person who does not show a clear intention to return to this country, evidenced by a failure to continue the fulfilment of the duties of a citizen in support of this government, such as the payment of taxes, to bear arms, etc.

A case in point is that of Bagur, who resided in the United States from 1852 to 1865, and in 1860 became a naturalized citizen. In 1865 he returned to Spain, taking his wife with him; his children were born there, and for twenty years he continued to reside in that country. The fact that he never had voted or held office in Spain or taken part in any political demonstration there might show that he was not a zealous Spaniard, but did not prove him to have been a loyal citizen of the United States.

It was held "that, while there was no allegation that he intended to return to the United States, the inference to the contrary is rendered very strong by his settlement in Spain, as the place of his children's birth and education, and by his failure even now to make any effort to return. Moreover, there is no evidence that he ever contributed by payment of taxes or otherwise to the support of this government. The facts furnish a presumption, not rebutted, that he has abandoned his nationality, involving his minor children in the same abandonment."

There can be no doubt that a naturalized citizen can denaturalize himself and get rid of his acquired character, just as he got rid of the character given him by birth. If he returns to his fatherland and shows an intention to remain there indefinitely, his original nationality readily reverts to him.

A state, as an independent political unit, has a right to accept as citizens on its own conditions all who may come into its territory and desire to attach themselves to it. But it can hardly claim a right to

dictate to another state the conditions on which that state shall give up all claim to the allegiance of its born subjects. To do so would be to intrude into the sphere of its legislation and trench upon its independence.

No surer method of producing international complications could well be found; whereas the rule of leaving to the state of birth to determine whether it will recognize the new citizenship or not, when the individual who has acquired it returns within its territory, precludes all possibility of controversy, while recognizing both the right of the naturalizing state to acquire citizens in its own way, and the right of the mother state to deal as it thinks fit with all persons in its dominions who are its subjects according to the provision of the local law. The United States and some other countries have endeavored to settle these questions by treaty.

Neither opinion nor practice is yet sufficiently uniform to create a rule of international law on the subject, but the tendency seems to be in favor of the provisions of the later United States treaties, or the law laid down in the recent Mexican and British naturalization acts, all of which involve similar principles.

Under the existing practice, while it may be generally admitted that a state has a full right to admit a foreigner to membership and to extend protection to him as such, still it is hardly consistent with the comity which ought to exist between nations, to render the acquisition of a national character so cheap and unconditional that the right may invite abuse by aliens against the mother country by them making use of the naturalizing state as a tool, and possibly rendering it *particeps criminis* in the disregard and perhaps premeditated avoidance of the obligations due to their native state.

THE MAN IN HISTORY.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

GREAT has been the contention of thinkers as to the true place of Man in History. By man we do not mean the race or tribe, but the individual human being; by history we do not mean the puny record of events made by scribe or chronicler, but the events themselves in their majestic progress across the landscape of the world.

Historians and philosophers have divided on this question. They have divided according to their biases and culture. Some have contended that man, the individual, is the maker of events; others with equal cogency have contended that events and the general causes on which they depend are the makers of men. To one class of thinkers, the man appears as the cause of whatever is; to the other class he appears as the cause of nothing, but only as the result of causes.

The opinion of the ancient world was that the individual is the fountain-head of historical causation. The opinion of the modern world inclines the other way, and looks upon general causation as the source of all things, and man as one of the issues from that source.

This division of opinion continues to the present day, inasmuch that there is now no indisputable historical teaching in the world. There is no instruction in the science of history which proceeds from a postulate at once undisputed and philosophical. Out of the most reputable universities in the world comes only an uncertain sound. One class of thinkers begin with the assumption that man, the individual, is the creator of the whole; these end in the mists of hero-worship. The other class begin with the assumption that men are nothing, and that general causation is everything; these end in the far, cold clouds of historical fatalism.

Thomas Carlyle and Henry Thomas Buckle may be regarded as two of the foremost intellects of the nineteenth century. Both were historians of the first rank, and both must be classed among the greatest thinkers of the age. Both were equally sincere. The writings of each are equally exempt from that poisonous ulterior purpose which is the bane of so large a part of the historical literature of our times. Nor may we with undue haste award the palm to the one or the other of these distinguished Englishmen.

Yet how unlike in opinion and contradictory in method are these two historians! Carlyle is perhaps the greatest example of a hero-

worshipper among the high-up intellects of the English-speaking race. Buckle, on the other hand, knows no hero at all, but is rather the finest example of that scientific rationalism which has affected, if it has not conquered, nearly all the historians of the last half of the present century.

To Carlyle, man — the individual — verily appears as the origin of causation. Behind the man, Carlyle recognizes only one force — God. From this view he never veers. He finds the man, and fixes on *him* as the source and beginning of historical events. He is never satisfied until he can discover what appear to him to be the individual origins of history. To Buckle, on the other hand, the man appears as the mere result of historical forces. His view contemplates only the lines of an infinite and unalterable causation encompassing the world and bringing to pass whatever is done by the agency of men *en masse*. To his understanding even the great communities and nations of the world are not so much the moving forces of history as they are moved upon and propelled by forces greater than themselves.

The contrariety of these two views relative to man and history is distinct and sharp. The difference between the fundamental concepts, however, is not hard to apprehend when that difference has once been clearly stated. Men in general are disposed by their natures and education to take the one or the other view of the relation of the individual to the general course of events. Some naturally and enthusiastically follow the hero, or genius, supposing *him* to be the cause of the great act in which he appears; while others, with equal decision but less emotional fervor, follow the general movements of mankind, neglecting the individual atoms that are driven along in the dust-clouds of progress.

At first glance it appears paradoxical and impossible that history should proceed from any source other than from the man himself. *Primâ facie*, it is self-evident that he is the maker of the whole. Whoever merely glances at the problem must conclude that all events — all movements and phenomena of the world-drama — are but products and results of the energies, intelligence, and purposes of men. Who but they, the inquirer may well demand, *could* be the origin of human events, the cause of whatever is? It seems so plain to the eye of sense that man does plan and purpose, that he does make and determine, that the fact does fall from his hand as the sword or the ploughshare falls from the blacksmith's anvil, — that to doubt his agency, his origination, his creation of the event seems absurdly to question the evidence of all the senses and perceptions of the mind.

Opposed to this view, however, is the other to which we have referred. This changes completely the point of observation and makes

man to be but the result of historical antecedence — the product of his age. That he is so seems to be established by many indubitable facts. The proposition that man is born and lives by the compulsion of historical forces becomes with little study a truth as palpable as any. Look at the individual at any time and in any country. Select the man from any situation whatsoever, and see whether he has determined even himself, to say nothing of the events of his epoch. Did he before his coming mark the time of his birth? Did he determine and choose his country? Did he reckon the conditions of climate and scene into which he should be thrown, and the consequent limitations of his powers? Did he fix his birthplace in river valley, on mountain slope, in populous city, on solitary steppe, in moaning forest, or by the beach of the infinite sea?

Did any man ever choose his race and blood? Did any ever select his own paternity — his father, his mother, the physical and moral union of their lives in him? Did any ever make himself a Hindu, a Persian, a Greek, a fire-worshipper, a pagan, a Christian? Did any ever prepare beforehand to be a soldier, a poet, a priest? Could any fix himself by preference and will in Babylon, in Rome, in Peking, in London? Could any by prearrangement adjust the historical conditions into which he would be born, and of which he must avail himself or perish? Could any make for himself a scene of action among the Athenian democracy, the Roman patricians, the Gallic warriors? Could any be a Hun or a missionary, a Crusader or an Infidel, a prince or a boor, a fool or a philosopher, man or woman, slave or general, black, brown, or white, strong or weak, blind or seeing, dwarf or herculean, capable or incapable of action and accomplishment? Has *any* man in *any* age or country to *any* degree whatever influenced, not to say determined, the antecedent conditions of his own life and activities? If he have not done so, then how can he be said to be the maker of history?

All questions implying the power of man to fix his own place and manner in the world must be met with a general negation. It must be agreed that man does *not* determine his place in history; that he does not choose his country, his age, or his race; that he does not make the elements of his own life and activity; that he does not originate or greatly influence the laws and conditions of his environment.

Nevertheless, he who holds the opposite view returns unvanquished to the battle and appeals vehemently to the truisms of his contention. He cites the manifest originating power and controlling hand of man over the incidents and events of history. He goes forward from material facts and conditions to abstract and moral considerations, charging the adverse opinion with absurd predestinarianism, with materialism, with every species of fatalistic philosophism invented by a blind and

absolute science. Your history, says he, dethrones man and makes him of no reputation. It reduces him from an *agent* to a *thing*. It takes all will and purpose out of history and makes it to be but the aggregate result of physical forces, leaving it on the plane of a mere natural philosophy. Such a view is against the evidence of the perceptions of the mind and the common testimony of the human race.

What — continues the debater — is the witness of all observation and recorded annals? — what but that men themselves, individuals, persons either singular or many, have originated, caused, produced the facts and events of the historical drama? Who but man has reclaimed and peopled and civilized the domains of the world? Did any city ever found itself? Did ever a state begin of its own accord? Did ever any institution or event rise anywhere but by the uplifting hands of men? Did not Cæcrops found Athens, and the Twin Robbers draw the ramparts around primitive Rome? Did not the legionaries of Claudius on the Thames bank build a fort to command the river and make the first huts in the metropolis of the world? Did not Moses and Solon and Numa make laws for the Jew, the Greek, the Roman? Did not the son of Philip conquer Asia? and did not Hannibal shake his fist at Rome? Was Charlemagne nothing but a name? Were Luther and Cromwell only the open and unconscious mouths of religious and democratic insurrections? Was Richelieu only a puppet, wired and pulled by fate? Was Napoleon only a barren ideality? Did not Omar the Great take Jerusalem, and Godfrey recover it? Do not *men* rear palaces and temples, and adorn them with immortal arts? Did not Michael Angelo fling up a vision of angels and cherubim to the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel? and did not the Man of Genoa — even against the conspiracy of the age, the contempt of kings and sages, and the anger of the sea — bring his triumphant *Santa Maria* from the far-off, bright Azores to

— Bahama, and the dashing
Silver-flashing
Surges of San Salvador?

Did blind fate or a living man discover the New World?

Thus triumphantly cries out the advocate of man-agency and man-purpose as the originating forces of history. But the antagonist is not silenced. The believer in the predominance of the laws of universal causation merely smiles at the declamation of his adversary. He takes up the unexhausted debate, and drives home thrust on thrust. Your argument, says he, is mere phantasm and stoneblindness. Men produce nothing — nothing! They control nothing — nothing! They contribute not a single feather-weight to the world. They give no atom to the aggregate of things material or things eternal. On the contrary, they

are themselves like bubbles thrown up with the heavings of an infinite sea. There on the surface they flash for a moment, and are gone forever. Men do *not*, as you say, create the elements or direct the course of history. The builders of that sublime fabric are invisible to mortal sight. They live forever, and have power over all the phenomena of man-life, shaping and constructing all. The man lives for a day and constructs nothing. Cecrops did not, as you say, found Athens. Minerva had been there before him and had planted the olive tree on the Acropolis. She had contended with Neptune and driven him away! Cecrops did not make the site, but only discovered it. He did not discover it, for he was sent thither to find it! Greece had already been prepared in an alembic older than the Hellenic race. There was the broken shore. There were the hills and the mountains. There were the oak woods and Olympus; the grottoes and the whispering groves of myrtle; the cerulean sky and the hexametric pulse of the soft seas falling on the shore. There had been prepared the antecedent conditions, not only for Athens and Sparta, but for Cecrops and Theseus as well; for Agamemnon and Homer; for Lycurgus and Solon; for the Delphic shrine and the Parthenon; for the Olympic games and Salamis.

Into this region — as into all regions — history sent her lawmakers and her poets. She despatched thither her warriors and her orators, her philosophy and her arts. It was History who heaped up the tumulus of Marathon, and still sends there her spectral Greeks to fight in the clouds by night. She it was who urged Hannibal with his elephants across the Alps, and who held back Cæsar for a moment on the banks of the dividing river. She it was who whirled the battle-axe of the Lion Heart on the hills above Jerusalem, and who put the reluctant hand of John to the parchment of the Charter. In that trembling scrawl were the English Constitution, the freedom of the Netherlands, and the Declaration of Independence!

The advocate still continues: Did Alexander make himself? If so, he did *not* make Philip and Aristotle! The one as his father and the other as his teacher are accredited with making *him*! It might therefore better be said that Aristotle was the conqueror of Asia. But he also was the product of a certain paternity, and in a larger and truer sense the product of a certain age. Were the Draconian Laws the work of him whose name they bear? Or were they only the bloody remnants of ancient savagery and night? Were the Ten Tables made, or compiled? Were they anything but the reduced and simplified expression of immemorial usage? Is there any such thing as *making* a law in any age or country? What is a lawmaker if not one whom history appoints to ascertain the thought and habit and purpose of some of her peoples? Neither Moses nor Zoroaster nor the camel-driver of

Mecca was the maker of the code of Israel, of the Fire Bible of Persia, of the Arabian Islam. The Hebrew law may be found in broken fragments among the lore and usage of peoples older than Moses, older than the flight from Ur. How are constitutions made?—how but in the forge and fire of time and toil, by heat of war and rain and shine of peace?

Nations go to battle as the clouds enter a storm. Are there not unseen forces behind the one as well as impelling the other? Do clouds really fight, or are they not rather driven into concussion? Are there not unseen forces behind both the nations and the clouds? Are not battle-rack and cloud-rack alike in this, that the one is the result of the contending forces of history, and the other the shock of electric currents and fight of viewless winds? The visible clash is nothing. The armies and the leaders, whether on the earth or in the heavens, are but the visible *signs* of battle; and victory goes to him, whether man or cloud, that is flung with greater force and momentum against the other.

What was Rome but a catapult, and Cæsar but a stone? He was flung from it beyond the Alps to fall upon the barbarians of Gaul and Britain. What was Martel? The very name of him was *Hammer*! He was the hammer of Europe beating Africa. What was Alfred but the bared right arm of Saxon England? What was Dante but a wail of the Middle Ages? and what was Luther but a tocsin? What was Columbus but the homing pigeon of an epoch of darkness and despair? What was William of Orange but the doubled fist of Holland? and Holland but the doubled fist of Protestantism? What was Washington but the unsheathed sword of our New-World democracy? and what was Napoleon but a thunderbolt rattling among the thrones of Europe? He did not fling himself, but *was flung*!

Such is the cause in court. Such are the arguments with which each of the great pleas is supported. Here on the one side is the Man set forth as the Author of History; and here on the counter side is History set forth as the maker of the Man. The contention is as far-reaching as the origin of the human race, as strenuous as the cords that bind our destinies, and as profound as the seabed of life.

The whole tendency of this momentous inquiry respecting the place of the man in history has been to reduce the agency of the individual, and to show the prevalence of the laws of general causation over the human race and its activities. Just in proportion to the illumination of the understanding and the widening of our field of vision has the acknowledgment come of a reign of law, not only in the domain of the material world, but among all the facts and phenomena of history. Every advance in our scientific knowledge, every correction of our rea-

son, has confirmed what was aforesaid only a suspicion, but has now become a belief, namely, that the influence of man, as man, on the course of events in the world is insignificant. Though the event itself is human, the evolution rises above the agency of man and fixes itself into the general laws and sequences which bind all things together.

As for the individual, he works at the event, labors upon it, imagines even that he shapes it with his hand; but he does not really determine its character or its place in the general movement of the world. He is conscious of his own endeavor, knows his plan and purpose, perceives the changes that are going on around him in which he participates, takes this place or that place in the drama according to his will and the will of his fellows; but for the rest, the act goes on independently of his powers and plans, and the event comes out at length by its own laws of development, and is above and beyond the designs and understandings of men.

But the objector says, What does this mean? Is History an Entity? Is History a thing alive?—having organs and parts and substance and spiritual essence? To say so is a mere impersonation; a fiction; a poem; a phantasm put for a fact. I answer that history is an entity—in the sense that the mind of man is an entity within his visible form and substance. Civilization is the body of events and institutions—a body of facts and parts and functions. Within these there is a controlling Force and Tendency, without which all events and facts and institutions are nothing; nothing but chaos. History may be defined as the aggregate of human forces acting under law, moving invisibly—but with visible phenomena—from ancient savagery as a beginning to the ultimate perfection of mankind as an end. It is an aggregate, I say, of human forces; but the individuals who contribute to the vast volume do not understand their contributions thereto, or the general scheme of which they are little more than the atomic parts.

Over this aggregate of human forces there presides somehow and somewhere a Will, a Purpose, a Principle, the nature of which no man knoweth to this day. To this Will and Purpose, to this universal Plan, which we are able to see dimly manifested in the general results and course of things, men give various names according to their age and race; according to their biases of nature and education. Some call it—or did aforesaid call it—Fate; some, the First Cause; some, the Logos; some, Providence; some of the greatest races have called it God.

It is clear that history in its larger and truer sense is an evolution, more far-reaching and important than all the local and incidental aspects of human life. The man operates in it and is of it, but does not direct its course or final result. In the natural world every organic body is built up of cells by forces which relate to *the whole*

structure. The cell is put into this part or that part according to the necessities and plan of the general organism. Each cell is seized and perfected by the agency of laws which have respect, not to itself, but to the larger life to which it is subservient. The cells are placed according to the fitness of things, and are made to conduce to an interest other than their own. Their life is swallowed up in the grander life that feeds upon them. They are subordinated to a plan so much vaster and more important than themselves that the disproportion of each to the organic whole is inconceivable.

In like relation stands man to history. He is a conscious cell built into the body of the world-drama according to the exigency of the tremendous structure. True it is that he goes to his place without *feeling* the compulsion that is upon him. His own will, being a part of the general scheme, coöperates with the plan and purpose of mankind considered as a whole. He takes his station here or there by preference; but the preference itself is a part of the universal plan. He perceives, within a narrow limit, the work that is going on around him, and his own part therein. He is able to discover the nature and probable design of that small section of the general structure in which he stands and upon which he exerts his feeble agency. If the event in his part of the field conforms to his purpose and expectation he imagines that he has been the determining force therein; and his fellows, if he be great, ascribe to *him* the agency which he claims.

It is here that the delusion begins which makes man — the individual — to be the author of history. In many cases he seems to himself to be so. The records of his age are made up accordingly and transmitted to after times. So the tradition arises here and there that this man or that man determined the history of his epoch. In fact, each man, as the scientific history declares, is but the product of his age — a local force which the general laws of causation demand and find; or, to return to the analogy, the man is but the living, conscious cell which historical causation seizes and assigns to its place in the general structure of the world.

It is difficult for us to apprehend with clearness the subordinate place which history assigns to the individual. We are the individual; and it is hard for us to go to our own place and stand among the small. We are recusant against the law that governs our lives and destinies. There is a natural residue of resentment in the human mind against the principle which makes man to be no more than a local circumstance in the general plan which he is not even able to apprehend. The man, being proud — vain of his achievement in the sphere of his activity — would fain regard himself as the creator of greater things. He cajoles himself into the belief that he is so, and

does not willingly agree to that plan which makes him to be but a conscious cell in the walls of history. Before he will assent, he must be reasoned with and convinced. He must be shown that his agency extends to so limited a sphere, and is so brief in its operation, as to be necessarily disregarded in that general plan which is as long as time and as profound as space. No estimate of history, and of the place of man therein, can be adequate or satisfying which does not recognize the complete subordination and immersion of the individual in the world-drama of which he is but an incident. The man must be brought to see the disproportion between his agency — whatever it is — and the tremendous organic whole in which his destiny is laid — a disproportion as striking and incommensurable as that of the finite to the infinite.

Consider for a moment the limitations which are inexorably fixed around all the boundaries of human life. Note the limitation of *time*. The average duration of the life of man is almost infinitesimal. It is a handbreadth. It is naught as compared with the stretch of the ages. According to our world-time the event is thousands of years old, and is still young. History in making her facts and preparing her results demands multiplied centuries. She pays little attention to the brief generations of men who rise and flourish under her extended dynasty. To the man she assigns one decade of activity, or two, or three; and then he goes. He goes to return not. But the event does not go. It accomplishes itself in its own way. Like the millennial oak, it regards not the vicissitudes of season or the puny tribes of living creatures that vociferate and play for a day beneath its tremendous branches.

A like limitation is that of *place*. Man is bound to a single locality; but the event has the world for its country. Until the present century man was narrowly circumscribed to the little arena of his origin. He is still circumscribed; and whatever he accomplishes is, in the nature of the case, as local as himself. What he builds stands there, a brief monument of the small sphere of his action. Man flies not, but only walks. If he swim, it is in the shoal waters of the surf. The birds and the fishes outgo him, and the four-footed creatures have greater speed. If we consider his mind, his faculties, his aspirations, even they are limited to places and conditions. In saying this we do not forget the flight of thought, the excursion of intellectual force, the outreaching of human purposes; but all these are, in comparison with the greater schemes of history, no more than the circumference of leaves or the flight of insects. The man is obliged to recognize not only the brevity of his day, but also the limitation of his activity to a certain spot of earth little affected by his presence and totally indifferent to his destiny.

A third limitation laid by nature on man is the *weakness* of all his

powers. He weighs not as much as the St. Bernard that trots by his side. The ox easily outdraws him. The horse—even when bitted and reined—dashes away with him and his carriage. The smallest of nature's forces round about him tosses him hither and yon. He cannot see in the night, or survive without shelter and fire. Shall we call such a creature as this the maker of history?—history that is stronger than the winds, mightier than the sea? In her hands all forms of life that inhabit the globe are but as the microscopic creatures on the slides of the naturalist! To her all seasons and years, all climates and places, all continents and dominions, are but the materials of a purpose which she cherishes and pursues on unbent lines from the beginning to the end.

We thus accept the subordination of man to history. We recognize the fact that the individual has small place in the general movement of the world-drama—small influence in affecting the results of the present or final action. It is not meant that man is naught, but only that he is weak and transient. It is not meant that the structure of history is built up of materials other than human; but the individual parts are only the molecules of the organic whole. The individual has his sphere of activity and his local force; but these are only the cell-life,—the corpuscle and tissue in the universal organism.

Every man in the world is a miniature battery. He has his small cup of force the size of a gun-cap! In it are the acid, the carbon, and the zinc. Out of it reaches a gossamer thread which attaches itself to the tremendous lines of universal causation girdling the earth and binding nature. The little gun-cap battery discharges its modicum of electrical force into the general circuit, and to that extent contributes to the motive power of the world! Here, however, the agency of the individual ceases, and the reign of law begins. Here the work of man, as man, in the drama of history ends, and he himself is absorbed in an action the nature of which he does not understand, and the final results of which he may not foresee or imagine.

To this general scheme—involving the universality of history and the subordination of the individual—all men and all events inevitably conform. Each has its place and its purpose—a place and a purpose little discoverable by human faculties, but tending ever, as we are able dimly to discern, *to the betterment and perfection of the human race*. It is in the light of this view of history and of man that every fact and event is to be weighed and understood. In the radiance of this brief candle of knowledge the man himself is to be estimated and considered. He takes his place under the dominion of universal forces, and contributes his little part to the destiny of the race.

Thus is history to be known; and thus are all men to be meas-

ured and interpreted. Certainly we shall not take away from the conspicuous actors of past or present ages their well-earned title of great. To be great is to answer the call of an epoch. It is to respond to the conditions of one's age, and to fulfil them. It is to take the rank and office which history has assigned beforehand, and to make strong that part of the eternal ramparts in which the living agent may be builded. It was thus that the sages and warriors of the ancient world answered in their lives to demands which went before them and to conditions which determined their activities and fame.

We do not say that there has not been human spontaneity in the world. We do not say that the Hindu poets who sang the songs of the Vedas were no more than the sounds of reeds filled with the natural wind — no more than the rustle of leaves or the whirl of wings through the thickets by the banks of the Indus; they were more than that, for they had thought and hope and love, and whoever has thought and hope and love is immortal. We do not say that Zoroaster or Gautama had in himself nothing of plan and purpose worthy to abide in the soul of the race and survive forever. But these primitive reformers of great races were none the less the products of conditions that preceded them, and were none the less born in answer to the imperative call of an age.

Time would fail to take up and follow the illustrations which rise on full wing from every land and clime. An age came when the world was full of mythological follies and spurious forms of thought. It was necessary that these should be whipped back into the primeval darkness out of which they had risen. Socrates was invented by history for this work. He was her whip; and the sting of it falls yet with sharpness on the back of all sophistries and lies. He came not of his own accord, but coming he found his office, and must fulfil it. His destiny led the way even to the dungeon and the hemlock. Socrates was not so much the son of Sophroniscus and Phænarate as he was the son of Athens, the son of Greece, the son of the Hellenic race, the son of reason and of the ages! Were not Phidias and Praxiteles the art-blossoms of centuries of time? Were they not born out of Egypt as well as Hellas? Would either have been possible at an earlier or a later age? The marvels of the Acropolis rose under the hands of these masters; but the masters themselves rose under the hands of migration and war, of poetry and patriotism, of triumph and pride of race, of Attic enthusiasm and intercourse with the gods!

Civil and political order was one of the necessities of mankind. It was demanded for the further evolution and progress of the race. The antecedent conditions of Rome were prepared through ages of time. Her situation was prepared. A division of mankind suitable for

so great a work was prepared and imported from distant lands. The old Kingdom was prepared, then the Republic, and then the Empire. The world itself was prepared for conquest and centralization under the sway of the Cæsars. A condition was prepared for the planting of a new religion, destined to conquer all Europe and to become a prevailing force in the New World.

What shall we say of the subordinate parts of that immense fact called Rome, issuing as if by birth from the paternity of the ages? What shall we say of its individual actors — of them to whom the making of Rome and so large a section of civilization has been attributed? What shall we say of Cincinnatus and Regulus, of Scipio and Marius, of Pompey and the bald-headed Julius who beat him down, of all the Cæsars, of the poets, historians, lawmakers, and orators, who, from Augustus to Constantine and from Constantine to the Palæologi, rose and passed across the stage of that tremendous drama? What were they all but the fruits of time, the progeny of old paternities, the products of forces and conditions which were older than the first appearance of the Aryan race in Europe, older than Egypt, Chaldæa, and India? These were but the transient actors in a scene which, extending through twenty-one centuries of time, was itself but a single act in that world-drama which absorbs the energies and enfolds the destinies of all men and nations from the beginning to the end of time.

Mark also the incidents of the Middle Ages. Peter of Picardy, little old monk in woollen mantle, preaches a holy war against the Infidels. He rouses barbarian Europe, and leads a crusading host in wild array of fight, to fall upon the defilers of the Holy City. For two centuries the world is in turmoil, and Peter is its master. Such has been the story of our book-history, and to that the opinion of mankind has long conformed. But who was Peter? And how should he be a force among the nations? Ignorant, superstitious, angry, mounted on a mule, how should he make history? Does history proceed from a fool on muleback? Nay, nay. Consider for a moment the far-off antecedents. Yonder the Arabian Prophet arises. He has been preparing since the flight of Abraham! He comes and converts his people from idolatry. He and his generals conquer the East. A race of iron-forging Turcomans out of the Altai make their way westward, and smite Persia. Assyria and Asia Minor fall before their prowess. They accept the doctrines of Islam from the conquered, but cannot be stayed till they possess themselves of the City of David, and sit cross-legged on the holy tomb.

Until then Christian pilgrims had been well treated by the polite Arabians in the East; but to the Turcomans all Christians were ghaours

and dogs. Meanwhile the barbarians of Western Europe had become converts to Christianity. Through more than four centuries they had been wrought up to the stage of fiery zeal and warfare. All of these conditions had been prepared in the vast laboratory of history; and no man had been consulted! When the news came of the outrages done to pilgrims in Palestine, what should barbaric Christendom do but explode with volcanic glare and smoke, scoria and cataclysm of both nature and man, until the rage should appease itself with blood and destruction? Then came Peter and Urban; then Godfrey and the Lion Heart; Barbarossa and Saint Louis. What were these?—what but the products of agencies working through three continents and compelling men to battle as the clouds are compelled by the winds? There along all roadsides from the Alps to Antioch three millions of the Crusaders piled their bones. It was the wreck of European fanaticism—a wreck of feudal elements thrown in bleaching lines, not by the hands of man, but by a historical storm. Was not the Hermit born in Asia as much as in Europe? Did he lead the Crusade? Or was he not rather himself with all the rest—Baldwin, Raymond, Godfrey, Plantagenet, Red Beard, peasant, Pope, king—borne along on the turbulent flood rolling through the centuries, pursuing its own course and swallowing men like bubbles?

Or, mark the intellectual progress of the world. This also is accomplished by human agency; but the men in whose brains the dawn-torches of the new centuries are carried are prepared for their places by the same laws which make them necessary. In no other light can the intellectual leaders of mankind be understood and interpreted. The time came when the human mind demanded a new concept of the heavens and the earth. The old concept no longer sufficed. The Ptolemaic system of the planets and stars became a mock in the high courts of reason. Such a notion of the universe must be cast forth and thrown on the refuse-heaps, with all mythologies and lies, with all false notions of nature and goblins of the mind, there to decay with the offal of the ages.

Order must be found and instituted in the skies. The epoch of discovery was first prepared; and then the discoverers. They were necessary in their season to fill the expectation of the world. It was thus that history found Copernicus and Galileo. Afterward she devised Newton and Laplace. These she commissioned to speak to men of new facts in the starry spheres, new worlds and suns, and new laws for the government of all. True it is that the great astronomers were the organs of intelligence, the teachers of order, the evangelists of sublimity for all men and nations; but they were themselves born into the world of an infinite paternity, and were developed by the compulsion

of forces that had been working among mankind since the dawn of the civilized life.

In like manner the old concepts of animated nature passed away. The intellect was no longer satisfied with those notions of irregularity, accident, lawlessness, and chance which had prevailed respecting all living beings and the modes of their creation. The mind demanded that the natural history of life be rewritten in intelligible language, and for this work she chose not only her age and her race, but also her man. A still small voice was heard above the roar and confusion of the nineteenth century. It was the voice of Darwin, proclaiming a new law for man and nature. It was a voice that stirred the topmost branches of the tree of knowledge. It moved like a viewless sound through all the courts and corridors of civilization. It caught like an electric spark in the understandings of men, and the prevailing crude opinions of the race respecting the phenomena of life were transformed into sublime and beautiful order. But Darwin himself was the product of his age. He was the son of England and Humanity. He was demanded and found and developed by antecedents and conditions as old as the revival of learning, as old as the curious speculations of the Greeks, as old as the spirit of inquiry in the bosom of mankind.

The same exemplification of the laws of the individual life of man in his relations to the general movement of the race may be seen in every form of human activity. Everywhere the man is produced. If he in turn produce, his product comes of the age and race to which he belongs. The product is always accordant with the special conditions that surround his life and determine its course. It is in his conditions and special circumstances that man has the largest freedom; but even this freedom is limited by the nature of his faculties and dispositions, and these in their turn are the results of heredity and other antecedents as old as the beginning of man-life in the earth.

It is a sublime concept to view the emergence of art and letters under the action of a law more potent and far-reaching than the artist himself, more wonderful in its results than the limited consciousness in the bosom of any man. Verdi and Liszt and Wagner came in a certain age of the world, bringing their celestial harmonies with them. They did not create these harmonies, but expressed them. They were found worthy by the age to utter forth its music and to transmit it to the centuries to come. Is it not clear that these sons of genius issued from a sphere more capacious than that in which their own small lives revolved? The *Trovatore* came through Verdi's organs. He wrote it in symbols on a paper score. He heard it and repeated it. The Tower song rises like the voice of an angel, clear and triumphant above the funeral sorrows of the *Miserere*. It is the cry of an age swelling bird-

like over the sorrowful symphonies of the past. What are the Hungarian *Rhapsodies* of Liszt or the *Parsifal* of Wagner but harmonized expressions of the struggling wings of thought, clashing in the midair of our century of doubt and longing, touched with the silvery tones of occasional hope, darkened with a thousand griefs, and intermingled with the growlings and discords of despair? What are the highest forms of all our art but the blossoms and fruits of an epoch deep-rooted in the past, drawing its nutriment out of darkness and light, out of intrigue and heroism, out of war and victory, out of the anticipated heaven to come and the hollows of the receding hell? Statues of marble and bronze, glorious creations of the canvas flashing on the vision of the beholder like the revelations of another world, immortal poems fluttering in lyric verse about the hedgerows and orchards or rising on epic wing eaglewise over the thunderstruck oaks and lifted mountains, are the expressions of something larger and sublimer than the individual life of man! True, they are the works of man; but he, their producer, is only the organ of the age, the conscious agent of the transmission of forces stronger and nobler than himself and of their expression in forms of imperishable beauty. Monuments rise, memorial arches bend over our heads, temples thrust up their marble spires, glorious windows transmit their mellow light to nave and chancel; but these magnificent works of art are not the expressions of local and individual thought only, but rather the embodiment and tangible outline of the dreams of the race.

The theme becomes an echo of itself. The illustrations of its truth spring from every age and from every phase of human progress. The old standards of statesmanship vanish from the human mind, and even the ancient view of philanthropy is changed for a more rational concept of the good deeds and holy characters of men. Peace and war are no longer determined by the personal wills and puny arms of the actors in the conflict. Nations and peoples, in all the forms of their activity and accomplishment, are seen to be but the effects of causes—the offspring of the past. The heroic figures who impersonate their epochs, who express in their lives the highest thought and purpose of their century, are *made* by historical forces, are borne aloft for the brief day of their activity on the billows of the eternal seas.

Thus came Cromwell out of the stormy bosom and motherhood of Anglo-Saxon England. The field of his activity had been long preparing, by armies and parliaments and kings, by religious insurrections, by battling opinions and the onset of races. His paternity extended through a millennium of time, and fixed itself with a thousand roots among the institutions, tyrannies, and turbulence of the Dark Ages. William the Silent was also born out of the loins of a mighty and

unknown fatherhood. He came with the blood of the Teutonic races, by the heroic struggles of their tribes, by the compulsion of instincts and trials which made freedom by sword and shield the war-cry of the primitive Germans and the inheritance of their descendants.

Washington, the serene Father of his Country, was himself the son of a larger country — the country of human liberty. He was the gift of destiny and Providence to an age whose hinder parts, like Milton's half-created lion, were held in the hillside of a decayed feudalism. He was commissioned by a power above himself to cut his country free from a tyrannous and despairing past. He was the sword, as well as the counselling voice, of an epoch which nurtured him for his great office and gave him to mankind. Napoleon truly called himself the child of the Republic, the son of destiny. Phillips and Garrison, Lincoln and Grant, were the agents of a great age. They were sent to break the Black Man's fetters, to crush the oppressor in his wrong, to decorate with some new glories the temple of freedom which history by our fathers' hands had reared as the shrine of patriotism and equality.

Thus came also the Man of Genoa. The discovery of these continents was the greatest secular event in the history of mankind. Time had prepared for it through centuries of longing and doubt. *Ne plus ultra* had been written on the Pillars of Hercules; but the human soul still said, *Plus ultra!* At the close of the fifteenth century there was a faint vision of hope on the waters. The pressure of the ages bore hard on the scarred shoulders of man; but the dream of Atlantis was still in his brain and spirit! The poor adventurer went like a despised prophet from capital to capital. He was the Man of Genoa; but in a larger sense he was the man of Italy, the man of the Mediterranean, the man of all seas and shores. Destiny set him on her hand and said to him, Fly! — and he flew. He went and came again. He returned — as all the great return — with gyves on his wrists and a New World for his trophy. He gave it to Castile and Leon. But in a larger sense he gave it to mankind as an arena of reviving progress, of freedom, and eternal hope.

THE URGENT NEED OF OUR PACIFIC COAST STATES.

BY EDWARD BERWICK.

FIFTY years ago two or three hide-droghers sufficed to carry round the Horn the whole annual export of California,—a few hides and a little tallow. Thirty years ago two successive seasons of drought put an abrupt end to the pastoral period, and the reign of the wheat-farmer was ushered in. The making of California dates from 1866, when towns and hamlets sprang up all over the State, and whether a man labored as lawyer or doctor, merchant or mechanic, teacher or preacher, his pay came out of the boundless wheat field. This era of prosperity based on grain reached its climax in 1882, when California's wheat export footed up \$43,000,000. Such tangible success spurred our rivals to emulation. Australia learned the lesson to such effect that her wheat soon outranked in price the product of California. As early as 1881, in reply to a description of our "header" which I furnished to the London *Times*, I was requested to send detailed information to Southern Africa. So the Afrikaner benefited by Californian ingenuity at an early date. The following year Argentina entered the race, with a feeble export of 68,000 bushels. This has grown to an accredited 40,000,000 bushels exported in the half of 1894. Meanwhile, in that year, California's output to Liverpool had fallen to a value of \$8,424,000, or one-fifth the amount shipped in 1882. In 1895 it rose a little, to \$10,026,102.

What is the meaning of this terrible decline? Simply that California has been worsted with her own weapons. For a while inventive ingenuity applied to grain-farming kept California ahead of the world. The gang-plough, improved harrows and cultivators, headers, and, lastly, the combined harvester, with its thirty-mule team, cutting, threshing, and sacking the wheat at a stroke, had enabled the Californian to compete easily with cheap-labor countries. For many years this faculty of invention acted as a counterpoise to Argentina's propinquity to the world's wheat market. Of course this could not last. The fame of California's harvesting machinery was noised abroad, and in a single year Argentina imported over \$3,000,000 worth of reapers, steam-threshers, ploughs, etc. The transactions of our State Agricultural Society chronicle the result briefly: "Argentine wheat broke the market." The Californian farmer, handicapped by 8,000 miles of perilous ocean navigation around Cape Horn, found himself unable to compete with the Argentine.

Some would insist that this apparent injury was a blessing in disguise, in that it would compel a recourse to intense culture, thus becoming a positive benefit to the State. This, no doubt, is a very pretty and plausible theory, and eminently desirable to be put in practice if possible; although it is just as well to realize that \$43,000,000 is a very large fraction of the total exports of the United States, and a fraction we can ill afford to dispense with, for in 1894 our whole export was but \$869,204,937. In certain events it might be possible for California to replace this immense value of wheat by other products, the results of this desired intense culture. Those products might consist of dried fruits, nuts, wines, hops, honey, meats, and dairy produce; to which could be added such by-products as perfumes, essential oils, citric and tartaric acid, etc. I say advisedly, "In certain events it *might* be possible"; because anyone who knows the present state of things in California as intimately as I do (for I have farmed here over thirty years), knows that already this intense culture is overdone on the Pacific Coast. Already the supply outruns the present demand. In 1895 almost every raw product enumerated above was selling at less than the cost of production. Raisins were to be had at one cent per pound in the sweat-box in Fresno, and almost every other article named was quoted at a similarly ridiculously low price. One prune-growing district alone, the Santa Clara Valley, is prepared to turn out in a favorable season 50,000,000 pounds of dried prunes, while the whole annual consumption of prunes in the United States is only some 70,000,000 pounds. Our trade in fresh fruits has been so overdone that hundreds of carloads shipped have resulted in a dead loss to the grower. Quite recently in the senate chamber of our State capitol, at the annual Horticulturists' Convention, a grower summed up his season's experience in shipping East peaches and pears. He reckoned that peaches, all ready boxed and packed in the cars, cost him 30 cents per box, and pears 45 cents. They brought him when sold, and expenses all paid, peaches 22½ cents, and pears 27½ cents,—a dead loss of 5½ cents per box on peaches, and 18½ cents on pears. Of the gross receipts the freight charge consumed 50½ per cent; the ice company, for refrigeration in transit, 15½ per cent; 3 per cent went to the shipping company, 7 per cent to the auction house that sold them. This was no isolated case; it was the common lot of the bulk of the growers at the Convention.

To cap the climax, and render the case for intense culture yet more discouraging, our horticulturists are well aware that Australia, South Africa, and Argentina are becoming our rivals in horticulture as they have been in agriculture. Both Australia and South Africa recently sent special envoys to California to spy out the land, and learn our methods of cultivation and packing; while Argentina, with a recent

immigration of a million and a quarter of born horticulturists from southern Europe, offers a bounty on every two-year-old fruit tree on the lands of new colonists. With cheap transportation the Pacific Coast may hold its own against these rivals, but it never can while handicapped as at present by 8,000 miles of extra distance. Our case may be described as one of arrested development caused by commercial isolation; in parts of the State gradual decline has already set in. The cure is indicated by a fragmentary plank in the platform of the Republican party. That fragmentary plank is to the Californian as big as a house. This is it: "The Nicaragua Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States."

Let me explain more fully what those words, "commercial isolation," import, to the wheat farmer, for example.

Commercial isolation means, in the first place, that his crop must be sold on a purely speculative market; for the place where the wheat is consumed is five months' sail from San Francisco; and no one can forecast prices five months ahead, especially now that his rivals in the Southern Hemisphere have made wheat-harvesting a *semi-annual* affair, their harvest occurring in our midwinter.

Then, tonnage to convey his crop must be brought from afar, and when wheat is abundant it usually happens that ships are scarce, and in such demand that freights rule high. Taking an average of twenty-five years, about \$12.50 a ton has been the ruling rate. Argentina has tonnage always within easy call, and ships her produce at less than half the above figure. This 8,000-mile handicap also implies five months' interest on the cargoes shipped, against thirty days' interest on Argentine cargoes. Lastly, it involves navigation through the proverbial perils of the Cape Horn route, where prevail Antarctic storms and cold, and, in winter, eternal night; insurance is charged accordingly, at two per cent, against five-eighths of one paid by Argentine shippers.

Obviously, in seasons of normal harvests, California is unable to compete under these adverse conditions. Were the Nicaragua Canal constructed every one of these would be removed. As Lieutenant Maury many years ago pointed out, this route is *not* in the region of equatorial calms, and would be accessible to sailing vessels almost every day in the year; it is therefore exempt from the difficulties in this and many other respects that attach to the Panama route. With this canal the area devoted to intense culture might be widened indefinitely, for not only our wheat would then compete on even terms with that produced by our rivals, but, by the use of steamships with cold-storage appliances, almost every one of the products of such culture, green fruits included, would find a profitable market among the teeming millions of Europe. Butter from Argentina, Australia, and New Zealand

already figures on London lists of prices current; why not from California, where butter from first-class creameries, fitted with every modern appliance, was a drug in the market last year at 9 cents per pound?

It is surely to the interest of all this great nation that so glorious a Western addition as the Pacific Coast States of the Union should not languish in this condition of arrested development. In an interview recently with Speaker Reed, in which I urged the immense importance of the canal to this Coast, the chief obstacle in his view seemed the financial. This is not insuperable. The estimated cost of construction in 1872 was, roughly, \$65,000,000. Since then notable improvements have been made in excavating machinery, and, in the experience of the Chicago Drainage Canal, the expense of such work has been very materially lessened. Menocal's schedule in 1872 priced various classes of work per cubic yard as follows: dredging twenty to thirty cents; earth excavation forty to fifty cents; rock excavation \$1.25 to \$1.50; rock, subaqueous, \$5. Chicago did the same work at the following much reduced rates: dredging five and one-half to eight cents; earth excavation nineteen cents; rock fifty-nine to seventy-four cents; rock, subaqueous, \$1.75. There is therefore at least no need to assume that the cost of construction now would exceed the careful estimates of 1872. This cost could be readily covered by a bond issue, to be met by a sinking fund of one-half of one per cent set aside out of the canal tolls. This fund in 83 years would pay off the bond issue, and leave the nation possessed of such a property as should be not only a national pride and glory, but an actual cash profit. Anyone disposed to sneer at such a result as visionary may with propriety be referred to the dividends, of fifteen to nineteen per cent, annually paid by the Suez Canal, whose shares it comports with the dignity of the British government to hold, and whose dividends serve to lighten the burden of British taxation. Similar results from the Nicaragua Canal might be not unwelcome to the American taxpayer.

Finally, though I have written the above from a local standpoint, let it not be even momentarily supposed that the interests of the Pacific Coast alone are involved. The advantages accruing to the entire Union would be so great as to be absolutely incalculable. The dictum of Macaulay yet holds good, that, barring the alphabet and the printing-press, those inventions which abridge distance most influence and further the progress of humanity. Construct this canal and you eliminate 10,000 miles of distance in your routes of commerce; the demands of your coastwise trade will rehabilitate your commercial marine; your unfrequented seas will become gay with steam and beautiful with sails; "your ships shall cover the ocean as a cloud, they shall fly to your harbors as doves to their windows."

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

Byron and Boone.

IT is late, I confess, to note anything new in Byron; but the new is there, if one have the purpose to find it. For example, we may consider the relative space given in his lordship's poems to his various contemporaries. As we should expect, Napoleon has, in the Byronic writings, a greater amount of space than any other historical personage. "The Ode to Napoleon Bonaparte" contains one hundred and forty-four verses; the "Additional Stanzas" contain twenty-seven verses. Besides this aggregate of one hundred and seventy-one verses, many additional lines on the "Man of Destiny" may be found, and one whole poem, of doubtful authenticity, containing twenty-four verses. This is the poem from the French, beginning:

Farewell to the Land where the Gloom of my Glory
Arose and o'ershadowed the earth with her name—

But *after* Napoleon, whom did his lordship honor with greatest poetical space? Strange as the reader may think it, that personage was Daniel Boone! Why this fact has been overlooked, I do not know. In the longest poem of Byron, seven stanzas of eight verses each are devoted to our backwoods hero. These stanzas (LXI to LXVII inclusive, Canto Eighth) were written in Venice, the next year after Boone's death. Byron, at that time, was burning his sublime soul to the socket. How he should ever hear of Daniel Boone is a wonder. How he should seize the situation so as to write of him intelligently, is marvellous. How he should succeed in divining Boone's character and the conditions in which he lived, depicting these with a fidelity never surpassed, is one of the incredibilities of genius. The stanzas referred to begin thus:

Of all men, saving Sylla the man-slayer,
Who passes for in life and death most lucky;
Of the great names which in our faces stare,
The General Boone, backwoodsman of Kentucky,
Was happiest amongst mortals anywhere;
For, killing nothing but a bear or buck, he
Enjoy'd the lonely, vigorous, harmless days
Of his old age in wilds of deepest maze.

The curious reader will doubtless turn to his Byron and read with surprise and delight what the most remarkable Englishman of the first

quarter of our century has said of the queer old bear-killer of Kentucky.

Jus Gentium Among the Grubers.

On the shore of Harrington Sound, in the Bermudas, one day in May of 1894, we came to Neptune's Grotto. The place is famous in the tradition of the Bermudians. The common folk of the islands call it "The Devil's Den." Harrington Sound is a broad, shallow bay in Long Island, the principal member of the group. The sea enters the Sound through a narrow race, flowing swiftly in and out, as the tide rises and falls on the surrounding reefs of coral.

Neptune's Grotto is fed with water from the Sound through undiscovered subterranean channels. The place is under private ownership. You pay a fee of a shilling to enter. Stooping through the arch of coral rock you go in, and there, before you, is a broad area of dark, deep water—a sort of underground, secluded lake; it is a fish keep. Near by is a little bakery where you get bread to feed to the fishes. Strong planks are laid from ledge to ledge around the sides of the cavern. As soon as you enter, a great shoal of huge grubers come up, big-mouthed and hungry as wolves, to snatch your contribution of bread. They are a coarse, savage species, strong and violent of manner, weighing on the average from twenty to sixty pounds each.

Besides the shoal of sprawling grubers one sees on the rocks and floating in the water, here and there, perhaps a dozen other fishes of different species. Two or three are rock-fish, lying on the ledges; as many more are of the kind called hamlet; a few are porgies, and a like number, angel-fish—the latter a kind more beautiful in fin (or, I should say, plumage) than may be seen in any other water of the world. The goldfish of our preserves are not to be compared with them in variegation of color and elegance of form.

I asked our Ferguson why there were not other fish belonging to the colony besides the grubers. "Why," said he, "the grubers would eat them up." "They do not seem to eat up the porgies and hamlets," I said. "Whenever we put in a new fish," he replied, "the grubers instantly snatch him up; he is gone in a twinkling; but they never touch the other kinds that were there before them." "How is that?" said I. He replied: "The grubers that were caught and put in there by the owners of the place have never attacked the fishes that were already in the pool. They will tolerate a new member of their own tribe, but will instantly attack and swallow any other newcomer of whatever species. They will not allow any alien to live in their waters except the few that were there when the gruber colony was established."

By this time we had bowled along the coral road for a mile or two and had arrived at the old colonial residence of Tom Moore, the poet, who was secretary of the Bermudian government for six months in 1804.

The new scene took the place of Neptune's Grotto, but I did not fail to make a note of the fact that the grubbers understand international law; that is, they understand it to this extent—they clearly recognize the right of prior occupation.

We living creatures seem to be all of one kind.

The Keynotes of Nature.

It is said that Nature has her keynotes from which, in rendering her sublime operas, she never departs. The sea's dirge is distinct enough, but the fundamental tone is not easily caught. Has anyone attempted, in a scientific manner, to test the bottom notes in the ocean symphony? The pine woods of our great Northwest moan evermore. The effect of the weird music on the hearer, wandering far in the shadowed solitudes, is magical.

In the illimitable pineries of Wisconsin I have listened attentively for hours to the solemn chant, and once I attempted to discover the primary note. If I did not mistake, the key or tonic of the anthem of that sighing realm of semi-darkness and mystery is *F minor*.

Will not someone who has patience and acuteness of musical perception attempt to determine, in a scientific way, in what keynotes Nature begins her magic melodies?

Escape by the Subway.

The struggle of municipal life to make itself comfortable extends into many avenues. The tendency of our people to accumulate in cities has been remarked by many writers and recently emphasized in an able treatise by Dr. Albert Shaw. But suppose this cumulative tendency goes on; the result will be that human beings will be heaped up literally at certain points—condensed, so to speak—beyond endurance and beyond the possibility of survival.

How this municipal life shall get itself out of the heap and escape to places where eating and sleeping or even business may be practicable, is the question. The notion of doing it by subterranean passage recently shows itself, and this idea has already become, in Boston, what Bacon would call a forthshowing instance; that is, the Subway as a means of escape and retrogression from the intolerable heap has been undertaken in the metropolis of New England with the prospect of success.

The visitor to Boston notes one point at which the human mass has especially overdone itself. This focus is about the confluence of Tremont and Beacon Streets. There the passer-by is obstructed to absolute stoppage for a good part of the day. The engorgement must be relieved, and the great Subway system, extending with ramifications under the Common, has become a fact. In a short time the electrical-car lines will be turned into the subterranean passages, and Boston may then hope to see the man-tide relieve itself.

Strange that the human cony should build himself a place and gather his folks to such a degree that his normal actions above ground become impossible, making it necessary for him to burrow in order to escape from the pressure of his own kind!

A Numerical Possibility.

It can hardly be doubted that our method of counting by *tens* is attributable to the fact that human beings have ten fingers. The prehistoric man learned to count on his fingers. At first he used the digits on one hand only; afterward, as his intellect improved, he was able to use the members on both hands; he thus learned to think *ten*. The civilized races have proceeded no further than this in the subjective numerical evolution. There has been a vague effort to reach twelve, but it has not been successful. The chapter on duodecimals has, I believe, disappeared from the arithmetics.

Suppose, however, that men had been endowed with fourteen fingers each? In that event would there have been a higher numerical evolution? That is, would the basis of arithmetical computation have been raised to *fourteen*?

The answer to such a question involves the larger inquiry as to whether the decimal system of computation is absolute, or only relative to a concept in ourselves. It certainly seems to us that the decimal is an absolute fact, and that no other system could be substituted for that which begins with a basis of ten. On the whole, we think that the matter is relative. If, however, the question should involve *space relations*, it would be an absolute and fixed fact, whatever might be our race experience and education.

For example, the geometrical proposition that the square constructed on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares described on the other two sides, is true in the nature of things. It would be true if there were neither man nor God in the universe; but in those cases in which space measurement is not involved — where only numerical computation is concerned — then we

think that a basis other than ten would do just as well, provided always that the mind had been evolved in different relations with those facts from which the primary ideas of counting are derived.

If the prehistoric man had been a 14-fingered animal, — then? Well, the system of logarithms would have been different; a dime would have contained fourteen cents, and a dollar one hundred and ninety-six cents. Albeit, everything would have been as easy and natural on a 14-fingered system as it is on a basis of ten.

Let Us Say "Telepheme."

A new word is needed to express a new fact in our daily life. Science brings many things, and new relations arise that must be defined in language. Thus came the telegraph. In that case Greek gave the name for both the instrument and its product. We say "telegraph" for the instrument, and "telegram" for the message.

More recently the far-talker has been put into our hands. The word "telephone" was readily invented, and as readily adopted. No word, however, has been suggested as a suitable term to express the telephonic message. Business and society will never speak of sending "a telephonic message"; that circumlocution will be left for the Professor and the members of the Junior class.

The word required in this case is *telepheme*. The first two syllables are derived from the Greek "telos," meaning a distance. The third syllable, *pheme* (pronounced *feem*), is from "phemi," meaning, I *spe*ak, or *say*. The sense of "telepheme" is, therefore, *speech-message at a distance*. This expresses precisely the new fact of our daily experience. Besides, the word telepheme is musical to a degree. I suggest its general adoption. Henceforth let us say, "Send me a *telepheme*, and I will let you know."

Victor Hugo.

One man has stirred me more than other men,
And that is Hugo! In his luminous soul
The fire of love burns as a living coal;
The radiance shining from his heart and pen
Lights every height and pierces every den!
Les Miserables! The book once made me whole;
I rose in tears and toward the far-off goal
Pressed eagerly and bravely through the rain!

Lo, now the cruel are victorious!
Lo, power has made the humble man a slave,
Bowling and sweating on the road to death!
Lo, all the weak are crying unto us,
And no new Victor, shouting, comes to save
The poor who cry, the serf who pants for breath!

A Sense of Proportion.

I sometimes wonder if the lack of a due sense of proportion or perspective, on the part of many reformers, is not the chief obstacle in the way of the success of the really meritorious movements they may strive to advance. The tendency to link together, to give equal prominence to, matters of vital importance, which are of basic interest to the race, and other questions which are of a secondary character, or are mere matters of difference of opinion in policy, in my opinion, weakens all the greater causes for which the reformer may be striving.

My attention was called anew to this subject a short time ago by a leaflet from a large organization which is striving for the betterment of conditions. The friends of all progress were urged to sign the petition therein set forth asking our Legislature to do four things. The necessity of each was duly presented, one as strongly as the other—all in glowing language not too temperate; and all were asked for upon religious grounds. This fact impressed me as a mistake. Our laws are not made for nor based upon religious reasons, and that argument repels the legal mind at once. But aside from that fact the four reforms asked for with equal urgency were of wholly unequal consequence. One was a really basic or foundational principle. It dealt with the primary physical welfare and health of the people. Another was of kindred nature, but was susceptible of wide difference of opinion as to desirability. The other two were matters of taste and opinion merely, and were quite outside of the legitimate province of the lawmakers.

This fact so amused (and annoyed) the committee before which appeared the representative of the philanthropic organization that all four cases were promptly laid on the table. The utter lack of perspective, of a sense of proportion, of the real relations of things, resulted in total defeat for the valuable and important measures because of the trivial or questionable company in which they were presented. Is not this often the weakness of reformers and the proposed reforms which they present for consideration?

H. H. G.

As Others See Us.

I learned one of the simplest lessons of life only the other day, which should have been a part of my early education, yet it came to me in mature life with the shock of revelation. A man sat opposite to me in a street-car. He had not invaded my consciousness at all until I heard him say brusquely to a companion: "The only way you *can* judge him is by yourself. What would *you* have done in his place? He had the chance, and he took it, of course, just as I would."

I began to study the man, with the result that it came to me for the first time in my life with absolute force and conviction that it is

impossible to understand one another in this world. The man's face was gross. His ethical nature was embryonic. He would have been entirely incapable of comprehending a lofty or unselfish act; behind such a deed he would have seen always an ulterior motive; and yet he *must*, as he said, judge you and me by himself always. What else is possible to him? Yet what is our philosophy worth which assumes and asserts that we are to others what we prove ourselves to be? The fact is, we are to another person exactly what he is to himself when he has translated himself into our conditions and clothes, *as he sees both*.

You are an undeveloped or an undetected thief, my friend, to those members of the light-fingered fraternity who "judge others by themselves." You are inside the pale of the law only because you would fear to be outside lest you be punished, and not at all because of the fact that you have neither the desire nor the qualities of heart or mind which of themselves prevent you from even casting with favor your mental eyes upon injustice toward your fellows. In brief, your motives and acts are all colored by the quality and trend of your neighbor's soul! In the vision of Grossness the daintiest maiden with crystalline mind and eyes is merely a clever actress! Translating him into his own language, the philanthropist becomes the partner of the schemer.

Some of us gain, some lose, but none of us are at par value upon this basis of judging others by ourselves.

H. H. G.

Public Policy.

My attention has been directed of late to the apparent fact that no man of considerable wealth seems to be able to make a will which will hold. Given sufficient financial motive, shrewd lawyers and pliant courts may be relied upon to break any man's will. I fell to wondering the other day, if this is not a sign of decadence in our institutions — if it can be sound public policy to "construe" wills other than in their plain intent. Have we or have we not the right to devise our property according to our own desires? Have we a right to the certainty that the courts will sustain our wishes after we are dead?

Of course I am aware that the theory of the law is that a sane man absolutely owns and can absolutely devise as he deems wise his own property, and that the courts must "construe" and sustain the "plain intent" of the will; but the cases have been so numerous, since great fortunes have accumulated in this country, where the theory and the practice of the law are at variance, that it is growing to be almost a truism that "no man can make a will that will hold;" which brings us up squarely against the basic questions which were supposed to have been settled long ago: Does a man own his own property? Has he a right to bequeath it?

H. H. G.

BOOK REVIEWS.

[In this Department of THE ARENA no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.]

Once More "The Alhambra."¹

MACMILLAN & COMPANY have favored the public with a new and elegant edition of one of Irving's unconscious masterpieces. This may very well be called the "Pennell Edition." The introduction by Elizabeth Robins Pennell is a fine bit of writing in which the author sets forth the leading charms of the Alhambra as depicted by Irving.

The illustrations of this work are by Joseph Pennell. They are sketches from pen-and-ink drawings by the artist, and as elegant as the narrative which they adorn. The distribution of cuts is so plentiful as to illumine almost every page. We should not be surprised if this little edition should prove to be one of the most popular that has been issued. The book is neatly done in every particular, and we may say, in a word, that English literature hardly presents a more charming little volume than this, containing, as it does, an American classic that may well compete for the very first place in our literary treasure.

We shall not at this date, sixty-five years from that at which Irving sent his immortal work to the public, enter upon a review of "The Alhambra." To use the language of the French critics, this book has been already crowned. It has challenged the respect and admiration of every civilized people in the world. It has been presented, we believe, in at least eight languages. It has extended its gentle spell to the old and to the young. It is a book for the schoolboy and the sage, for the lover and the soldier, for the peasant girl and the princess.

It is the peculiar merit of all of Irving's writings that they belong to the human race rather than to any one kindred or country or epoch. The classicism of these works is of that simple and beautiful order which combines in itself the serene majesty of the Doric with the efflorescence of the Ionic architecture.

The reader of this Pennell edition of "The Alhambra" will find himself again under the magic wand. Once more he will be transported to a distant age and country, to the old Moorish capital of Spain; once more he will live in the past; once more he will see the wonderful palace rising in the distance; once more he will enter through the Arabesque ruins and stand with busy memory and beating heart on the marbles of the Lions' Court.

A New Book on Darwin.²

It rarely happens in this world that an author publishes a modest volume against which four hundred other volumes, many of them immodest, are launched in contro-

¹ "The Alhambra." By Washington Irving; with an Introduction by Elizabeth Robins Pennell. Illustrated with Drawings of Places mentioned, by Joseph Pennell. One vol. 12mo, pp. 436. Macmillan & Co., London and New York.

² "Charles Darwin and the Theory of Natural Selection." By Edward B. Poulton, M.A., F.R.S., etc. One vol. 8vo, pp. 224. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1896.

versy. In the history of the products of the human mind we find no other such phenomenon. To Charles Robert Darwin it was reserved to revolutionize the philosophical views of a great century and to start the mind of man on a new career of discovery and hope. Darwin reached from the valley to the mountain heights of knowledge. His cry was a still, small voice, but it has been heard from the rivers to the ends of the earth. The "Origin of Species" stands; the waves have beaten against it; storms have roared and the deluge has poured in vain, for it is founded on a rock.

To the Macmillan Company we are indebted for a newcomer in the Darwinian library. Prof. Edward B. Poulton, Hope Professor of Zoölogy at the University of Oxford, has produced one of the most readable treatises that we have yet had on Darwin and his work. In his Introduction the author says:

In the following pages I have tried to express a sense of the greatness of my subject by simplicity and directness of statement. The limits of the work necessarily prevented any detailed treatment, the subject of the work prevented originality. We have had the great "Life and Letters" with us for nine years, and this I have used as a mine, extracting what I believed to be the statements of chief importance for the work in hand, and grouping them so as to present what I hope is a connected account of Darwin's life, when considered in relation to his marvellous work, and especially to the great central discovery of Natural Selection and its exposition in the "Origin of Species."

The author thus fully acknowledges his indebtedness to the skill and taste of Francis Darwin and to other sources of information regarding the great naturalist. "The greater part of the volume," says he, "formed the subject of two short courses of lectures delivered in the Hope Department of the Oxford University Museum in Michaelmas Term, 1894, and Lent Term, 1895."

Prof. Poulton proceeds to consider his subject in twenty-six chapters, beginning with "The Secret of Darwin's Greatness," and ending with "His Last Illness (1882)."

The book is well written and should be considered somewhat apart from the vast controversial literature to which Darwin's masterpiece has given rise. Prof. Poulton's treatise is expository; in many parts it brings us near to the life of the great original. There are many interesting extracts from Darwin's writings and from the writings of others in controversy with him. Though the line of biography is not followed, the philosophical thread furnishes a logical clew for the coherency of these chapters as well as for the guidance of the reader.

The most interesting chapters, we think, are those entitled "Darwin and Wallace," "Preparation of the 'Origin of Species,'" "Influence of Darwin on Huxley," and "Letters from Darwin to Meldora." All readers of the Darwinian literature will be interested, entertained, and instructed by a perusal of Prof. Poulton's work.

Mr. Bryan's Book.¹

The mental strength and moral purpose of William Jennings Bryan cannot be doubted. In the intellectual activities of this man there is no uncertain sound. He is a powerful type of his age, his race, and his country. In many respects he has not had an equal in our history. Certain it is that no other popular leader has ever endured

¹"The First Battle. A Story of the Campaign of 1896." By William J. Bryan; together with a Collection of his Speeches and a Biographical Sketch by his Wife. Illustrated. One vol., large 8vo, pp. 630. W. B. Conkey Company, Chicago.

the strain to which he was subjected during the presidential campaign of 1896, and we are doubtful if any other American, of all our millions, could have borne it. Mr. Bryan bore it, and came through without the smell of fire on his garments.

Whoever saw this man and conversed with him, in the last days of the campaign, must have been surprised to admiration to observe the unflagging strength, the exuberant spirits, the clear, masterful face, the generous expression, and the flashing light of this great and undaunted soul. He was ambitious to be the youngest President of the United States. The prize was such as has rarely or never been suspended within the reach of man; the event showed that it was just beyond his reach; but if any, after the crisis, were able to discover decline upon his brow or mortification in his manner, such have not yet borne witness to their discovery.

The fact is, that Mr. Bryan has remained unhurt; neither did his hold upon his following break with the event of the election. On the contrary, millions of his admirers and friends have rallied still more closely to his standard. The man is beloved by the masses. The writer has seen the poor, the weak, the humble, the aged, the infirm, rush forward by hundreds, at the close of Mr. Bryan's speeches, and hold up hard and wrinkled hands with crooked fingers and cracked knuckles to the young, great orator, as if he were in very truth their promised redeemer from bondage. The people of the West and of the Central Union and in large parts of the East have believed in Mr. Bryan and trusted him as no man has been trusted in public leadership since the days of Henry Clay. This trust has not been betrayed or forfeited. The hold of the brilliant young statesman on his following is unbroken.

The supreme quality in William J. Bryan is, we think, his faith. It is difficult to say what faith is. The theologians have never been able to inform us. Certainly it is *belief*, in its more energetic manifestations. It is belief that the thing will be; that it will come to pass. It reaches out to the things contemplated and tends strongly to make them real. Mr. Bryan has this reaching out; he takes hold of conditions. He considers these conditions as if he were viewing an empire. He finds the empire to be disordered. Within the empire he sees *another* empire which he would substitute for the existing state. This vision he makes a reality; it becomes to him a visible *imperium in imperio*. He battles, as many of us do, to institute the new empire. The whole significance of Mr. Bryan's life and policy lies in this direction. That he is a patriot, let no man doubt; that he is an American to the marrow and soul of him, let no man question; that he has abilities amounting to genius, let none question either; that he is capable of herculean exertion, that he is willing to expend himself in a cause, that his will and spirit are such as to know no exhaustion or abatement of vigilance, let no man disbelieve.

These remarks might be indefinitely extended; but it is our purpose rather to mention Mr. Bryan's "First Battle" and to commend it to all readers as a book replete with interest, with information, and with inspiration to American democracy.

Perhaps there is always an element in works of this kind tending to make them more temporary than they deserve to be. We cannot know precisely to what extent Mr. Bryan, in this book, has aimed to produce and promulgate the permanent record of his life and work. No doubt he believes, as his friends believe, that the best part of him is in the future. Perhaps he has yielded a little to temporary conditions in casting this work at the present time. But it is produced with more care and in better literary spirit than is any transient biographical and political study that we can recall. If we look at the biography proper, which includes the first sixty-six

pages of the work, that is particularly well done. We think it will not be much improved hereafter by any hand whatsoever. Even should Mr. Bryan reach the goal of his ambition, the essential merits of this biography, by his talented and accomplished wife, can hardly be amended by any future writer. Mary Baird Bryan is, we think, unusually happy in producing the sketch of her husband's career. There are many things in her part of the work which commend it in the highest degree to the thoughtful. Mrs. Bryan is a conspicuous part of the good fortune which William J. Bryan has inherited. Whoever has had the honor to know this lady and to converse with her and to note her unequalled bearing in the great ordeal through which she passed with her husband in the summer and fall of 1896, will recall with admiration the example which she then gave to American womanhood.

As an introduction to the life of her husband Mrs. Bryan says briefly:

The impelling cause which is responsible for this article needs no elaboration. During the last few months, so many conflicting statements have been made by writers, friendly and unfriendly, concerning Mr. Bryan's ancestry, habits, education, etc., that a short biography based upon fact seems a necessary part of this book.

Writing from the standpoint of a wife, eulogy and criticism are equally out of place. My only purpose, therefore, is to present in a simple story those incidents which may be of interest to the general reader.

We may not make any extended extracts from Mrs. Bryan's part in her husband's book, but cannot forbear a word of comment on the witty, womanly good sense and good taste of the paragraph in which she describes her husband's method of procuring her hand. Speaking of that event she says:

The time came when it seemed proper to have a little conversation with my father, and this was something of an ordeal, as father is rather a reserved man. In his dilemma, William sought refuge in the Scriptures, and began: "Mr. Baird, I have been reading Proverbs a good deal lately, and find that Solomon says: 'Whoso findeth a wife, findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favor of the Lord.'" Father, being something of a Bible scholar himself, replied: "Yes, I believe Solomon did say that, but Paul suggests that, while he that marrieth doeth well, he that marrieth not doeth better." This was disheartening, but the young man saw his way through. "Solomon would be the best authority upon this point," he rejoined, "because Paul was *never married*, while Solomon had a *number of wives*." After this friendly tilt the matter was satisfactorily arranged.

Mr. Bryan begins the subject-matter of "The First Battle" with a chapter on his "Connection with the Silver Question." The narrative dates from the last of July, 1890, when he was first nominated for Congress. This chapter is succeeded with another, under the caption of "Unconditional Repeal," which occupies forty-six pages. In this he discusses with great cogency that ill-starred piece of legislation which began in the House of Representatives on the 9th of February, 1893, and was completed with the unconditional repeal of the so-called Purchase clause of the Sherman Bill.

The next chapter is devoted to the question of "Bolting," and the next to "Seigniorage, Currency, and Gold Bonds." The author, in the following chapter turns to his own State and discusses "Pioneer Work in Nebraska;" and in the sixth, he notes the "Development of the Silver Sentiment," particularly in the Western parts of the Union.

This brings the author to the year 1896, and to "The Republican National Convention" of that year. To say that in the presentation of the matter involved in the great contest of 1896, Mr. Bryan shows unusual power of analysis, a magnificent grasp

of the subject as a whole, an admirable good temper and forbearance, is to say no more than is known and read of all men. In dealing with personages prominent in that contest, he is just and discriminating. In the parts relating to himself, he is modest and yet strong. In a general way we may say that Mr. Bryan has strong self-consciousness, but this is held in admirable restraint by a predominant sense and sentiment of modesty and truthfulness which keep him in equipoise—a thing most essential in statesmanship.

The author next gives an account of the various conventions of his critical year; of his own nomination by at least three of those conventions, and of his acceptances. The book, in this particular, is necessarily documentary; platforms, speeches, acceptances, etc., make up a large part of the text through about two hundred pages. Then follows an account of the great Presidential contest and of the author's own part therein. Mr. Bryan gives, in an admirable way, a sketch of his unparalleled travels and speechmaking in the autumn of 1896. This narrative covers an event with an analogue but without a likeness in the political history of our country. We have already remarked upon the extraordinary physical, mental, and moral endurance which William J. Bryan displayed in those trying days.

"The First Battle" is copiously illustrated with portraits, tabular statements, sketches of important scenes, historical buildings, and the like, including certain political maps explanatory of the contest of 1896 and its results.

On the whole, we cordially recommend Mr. Bryan's book to the American public. Little it matters whether the reader be of Mr. Bryan's way of thinking or of the opposite political faith. "The First Battle" is indeed an admirable book, thoroughly American in its sentiments and expression, replete with choice matter relative to the political and economic agitations and progress of our age.

We do not prophesy; we have not the gift of tongues; we lay no claim to insight into the mysteries of the hereafter. History is not yet a science, though it is, we are glad to say, becoming a science. For these reasons we forbear to express our expectations and faith in the future of William Jennings Bryan. Thus much, however, we will say: that his genius and character are of the most admirable and patriotic stamp; the spirit of the man is such as the American people will not willingly permit to expire or to be illumined with less than the greatest light. For the rest, his future is with those master forces of civilization, in whose clutch all men and all events, like the helpless seaweed of the Gulf stream, go drifting, drifting,

From each cave and rocky fastness
In the vastness, —

some to find a lodgment on hidden reefs, some in the sunny bays of the Hesperides.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Hon. John Boyd Thacher.

IN the series of articles by the Mayors of large municipalities, Hon. John Boyd Thacher, Mayor of Albany, N. Y., will follow those of Mayor Quincy of Boston and Mayor Pingree of Detroit. Mayor Pingree is also Governor of Michigan, and is too well known because of his sturdy battles in the interest of the people, to need introduction to the readers of THE ARENA. It was this that made him Governor. The people of Michigan, irrespective of party prejudice and newspaper abuse, last fall elected Detroit's reform mayor to the highest office in their gift.

Hon. John Boyd Thacher took the office of Mayor of Albany, also, as a reform mayor. His aim and his first efforts were to benefit his municipality educationally. He sought to secure for Albany a college. The professional politician asked him derisively, "How is that going to benefit us? What you want to do is to make your party solid." And it came about that even his own party friends deserted him when it came to what they considered so unpractical and useless a matter of municipal endeavor and improvement as would be the establishment of a leading educational institution in their city. It will be of great interest to read of Mayor Thacher's farther aims and hopes as a reform mayor.

In this connection it is fitting to call attention to the fact that already these articles by reform mayors have attracted very wide attention, and are being made the basis of practical action. All the leading papers in Boston copied in full the article by Mayor Quincy in the March ARENA. In over two hundred towns and cities it was read, in part or in full, on Washington's birthday, by the mayor

or some public officer, as a part of the public exercises, and was used as the basis of discussion of the needs and desires of their own cities.

Professor William I. Hull, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College.

Since everyone read "How the Other Half Lives" that "Other Half," in its various phases and conditions, has been an object of deep interest and often of deeper anxiety. In the May ARENA, Professor Hull will tell our readers much that is interesting, and more that is saddening, under the title of "The Children of the Other Half." Professor Hull's article will attract wide attention and be productive, we hope, of action that shall be in direct line with the most gravely needed municipal reforms.

Susan B. Anthony.

In the May issue will appear a characteristic article from the pen of Susan B. Anthony, President of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, that sturdy pioneer in the cause of woman who has borne the brunt of the battle, and has, happily, lived to see the "beginning of the end" for which she has so bravely struggled. In her article she gives a brief history of the long contest for the enfranchisement of woman, and points out the partial victories, showing what is yet to be achieved. Miss Anthony's paper is the third in the famous woman series, she having been preceded by Mary Lowe Dickinson, President of the National Council of Women, and May Wright Sewall, Ex-President of the National Council of Women, Vice-President at large of the International Council of Women, and Principal of the Indianapolis Classical School for Girls, each having written

upon a topic on which she is able to speak with peculiar authority. Following Miss Anthony there will appear each month in *THE ARENA* a paper by some woman who is justly famous, who will write on some subject on which she has become best fitted to instruct or entertain.

Sarah B. Cooper.

Madame Gertrude de Aguirre will in the May *ARENA* pay a well deserved tribute to the memory of that sweet, strong philanthropist and educator, Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper. The Pacific Coast proudly claimed Mrs. Cooper as its own while she lived, but it reverently yields her name and fame and glorious work to the whole country now that her gentle, spiritual face is to be seen no more. She was often called "the mother of kindergartens," and to deserve this title would be much; but Sarah Cooper was far more than this. She was the mother of the motherless. It was she who took 20,000 waifs from the streets of San Francisco and had them made clean and warm and ready to be taught, and then saw that they were instructed and their lives brightened in schools. Such a woman belongs to no State or country; she belongs to no age or clime. Her spirit is universal, and the reverence and admiration for her and her work prove that she (that of her which we all admired) is not dead, but only sleepeth.

The National Congress of Mothers.

No social event of our time has brought with itself a profounder interest than has the recent Congress of Mothers at Washington city. This meeting was, perhaps, the first large and orderly expression of a purpose on the part of American women to do something for the human race. The particular thing aimed at was the inculcation and dissemination of certain profound sentiments and principles relative to the improvement of our kind, beginning with motherhood. Strange

that the centuries should have waited so long for so natural and humane an enterprise! Strange that we should have dragged on through such weary years and epochs of time without one single rational, systematic effort to improve—what shall we say?—the quality of man!

In *THE ARENA* for May we shall be able to present an account of this great Convention, fitly told by two distinguished personages, one of whom was a member of the body; the other, Dr. Frank Cushing, Professor of Ethnology in the Smithsonian Institution, who took a lively interest in the proceedings. For to his practised mind the movement was indicative in the highest sense of a progressive stage in that great subject to which he has given so much time and attention. He will contribute to *THE ARENA* for May his views of the Congress and its work. Mrs. Ellen A. Richardson also will write an article on the Congress, and give an *inside* view of its spirit and achievement.

Besides these announcements, in which the readers of *THE ARENA* will, we think, find as much interest as we find pleasure in making them, we will here refer to a few of the leading personages to whose genius and philanthropy the success of the Congress is mostly due. Among such should be mentioned the distinguished President, Mrs. Theodore W. Birney, whose duties were performed in a manner to elicit the praise and admiration of thousands. Mrs. Phebe Hearst, first Vice-President of the Congress, was an energizing spirit. The second Vice-President, Mrs. Adlai E. Stevenson, also lent her name and generous influence to the Convention; and many other most eminent women participated and gave a helping hand.

Hon. John George Bourinot, D. C. L.

It is a sincere pleasure to announce that *THE ARENA* for May will contain an article by Hon. John George Bourinot, Clerk

of the Canadian Parliament, and one of the foremost literary men of the Dominion. As a writer, he is preëminent. He is a leading contributor to the Canadian journals of public opinion and also to the English reviews, including the *Quarterly*. Dr. Bourinot writes on "Canada: Its Political Development and Destiny," a theme of lively interest to American readers. THE ARENA is glad to introduce this distinguished writer and publicist to an audience as broad as the continent. We trust and believe that his appearance in our pages will mark the beginning of a more intimate connection of Dr. Bourinot with the intellectual republic of our country.

C. Osborne Ward.

"Trades-Unions Under the Solonic Law" will be the title of a contribution in THE ARENA for May, by C. Osborne Ward, Interpreter of the Department of Labor. Mr. Ward has been in Eastern Europe as the representative of that Department, and has obtained there a number of important facts, now for the first time made known to the people of our country, relative to Trades-Unionism at the remote epoch of the Hellenic ascendancy.

Mr. Ward and his work are highly indorsed by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Department of Labor, a recom-

mendation which the American public will quickly and gladly accept.

Prof. Wilder's Article : Explanation and Correction.

Partly through misapprehension and partly through a change in our office, the article, "Brains for the Young," in our March number, was printed without the knowledge of Professor Wilder. It represents approximately the report of an address delivered before the Home Congress in Boston last October. Hence the somewhat colloquial style of the article, and hence some errors in the same, the more important of which are here corrected:

P. 578, lines 13-16, the artist referred to was Phillip Gilbert Hamerton, and his complete aphorism was: "Personal familiarity alone makes knowledge alive."

P. 579, lines 9 and 10 should read: The child should be taught to sing before learning to talk.

P. 579, fourteenth line from the bottom, the region referred to was first mentioned near the top of p. 579.

P. 579, second line from the bottom, there should be a *not* before *homogeneous*.

P. 581, line 3, the first word should be *essential*.

P. 583, line 1, the *for* should be *and*.

To Our Patrons and Friends.

If you find, on examination, that THE ARENA is battling for the cause of truth and worthily promoting the interests of the American people, please to contribute YOUR effort by helping to extend the influence and circulation of this magazine—to the end that it may still better fulfil its mission.

Respectfully,

ARENA COMPANY,

Copley Square, Boston.